DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 072 334 AC 014 175

AUTHOR	Fletcher, Philip R.
TITLE	Paulo Freire and Concientizacion in Latin America.
INSTITUTION	Stanford Univ., Calif. Center for Latin American Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Dec 70
NOTE	130p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; Adult Education Programs; Adult Literacy; *Comparative Education; Developing Nations; Disadvantaged Groups; Economic Factors; Graduate Study; International Programs; *Latin American Culture; *Literacy Education; Political Influences; Program Effectiveness; *Program Evaluation; Social Factors
IDENTIFIERS	Chile; *Freire (Paulo)

ABSTRACT

The program of adult education presently used in Chile is studied in this paper. The historical development of the program and some of the theories behind it are discussed. The program is assessed in terms of political and economic considerations and its success as a pedagogical and social technique. Chapters deal with: (1) Latin American education; (2) the theory of the psycho-social method; and (3) literacy training in Chile; a comprehensive application of the psycho-social method. The ascendance of Marxism in Chile is discussed in an epilogue. Appendices present the Brazilian didactical materials, some mis-applications of the psycho-social method, and the Chilean didactical materials. A bibliography is provided. (KM)

ED 072334

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

PAULO FREIRE AND CONCIENTIZACION IN LATIN AMERICA

BY

PHILIP R. FLETCHER

Copyright 1970 by the author.

Presented to Dr. Gustavo Alfaro, Advisor
Independent Research 199
Center for Latin American Studies
Stanford University
December 1970

AC 014 175

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Philip R. Fletcher

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

PREFACE

It is our intention in this paper to study the program of adult education presently being applied in Chile and to judge its success as a pedagogical and social technique, considering what kind of wider application it could have in Latin America and other areas in the future.

This particular program in literacy and technical training deserves our attention because it presents some rather revolutionary concepts, both in its pedagogical innovativeness and in its sociologic overtones. Capable of rapidly disseminating technical skills to the illiterate or formerly passive, it also involves processes which awaken a more critical judgement and motivates the individual for active involvement in society. The program could provoke a revolution in education or even a political revolution, but whatever, we find that change is an implicit, central factor.

This paper intends to trace the historical development of the Chilean program, to treat briefly some of the theoretical concepts behind this effort, and to make a critical analysis of the current program being applied in Chile. Finally, we will make a comparison between this

educational effort and others being applied in Latin America, and assess the program in terms of political and economic considerations. We must consider such topics as political culture, government policies, and programs in educational and agrarian reform. In turn, there enter the social philosophies of education, politics and economics, in addition to more traditional philosophies. These considerations are important, if we are to give the program a thorough critical assessment and draw satisfactory conclusions about its future prospects.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work on adult education in Chile was made possible by the sponsorship of the Committee on Latin American Studies at Stanford University and the financial support of the Ford Foundation. Members of the Institute for Training and Research in Agrarian Reform in Santiago and particularly Salon Barraclough and Paolo de Tarso Santos, as well as Professor Waldeman Cortes Carabantes, staff member of the Chilean Ministry of Education and Chief of Special Plans for Adult Education of the Ministry, were most kind in facilitating my research while in Chile. They were all very helpful by allowing my access to their collection of original materials on Chilean adult education. In addition I would like to thank Dr. Gustavo Alfaro of Stanford for his advice and support throughout the course of this work. More informally, I am most grateful to students and friends in Chile and at Stanford University, with whom I have discussed this material, its meaning, and its implications.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE ii

ACKNOWLEDGMENT iv

CHAPTER

I. LATIN AMERICAN EDUCATION 1

II. THE THEORY OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL METHOD 19

III. LITERACY TRAINING IN CHILE: A COMPREHENSIVE APPLICATION OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL METHOD 53

EPILOGUE: THE ASCENDANCE OF MARXISM IN CHILE 77

APPENDIX

A. THE BRAZILIAN DIDACTICAL MATERIALS 97

B. SOME MIS-APPLICATIONS OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL METHOD 104

C. THE CHILEAN DIDACTICAL MATERIALS 111

BIBLIOGRAPHY 124

CHAPTER I

LATIN AMERICAN EDUCATION

It is conceivable for one to give a rather discouraging view of many aspects of education in Latin America. All too often it is dysfunctional, failing to meet the requirements of these societies, either in basic or more sophisticated types of education. High illiteracy rates are common as well as imbalanced university programs. What is worse, Latin American educational programs tend to reflect, even intensify, many of the disparities of their own societies. Finally, in projecting toward the future, one begins to wonder if their present school systems can have any future there at all.

When we look at the problem of illiteracy in Latin America, we observe that the number of illiterates is rising in absolute terms. This can easily be verified by examining any of several official documents on the subject published by international institutions, such as UNESCO.

These statistics reveal that there are several countries where the number of illiterates goes up every year. For example, in Brazil, there were a few more than 6 million illiterates in 1900; in 1960 there were 15 million. Colombia in 1918 had a little over 2 million illiterates, while by

1960 there were more than 3 million. Mexico in 1900 had 7.6 million; by 1960 there were more than 10 million. To date this type of regional increase in illiteracy has not been halted.

It is possible to associate a number of social ills more or less directly with these problems of illiteracy. Illiterates tend to be isolated, low in productivity and low in personal income. A study by William F. Marquardt (University of Illinois) and Richard W. Cortright (the Adult Education Clearing House, National Association for Public School Adult Education)[1] reveals that illiteracy in Latin America relates convincingly to indications of marginality, low exposure to mass media, apathy, lack of agricultural and home innovativeness, low achievement motivation, and minimal political knowledge and "sociometric opinion leadership"--all fundamental liabilities to economic development and social modernization.

Thus, for example in seven countries (Trinidad and Tobago, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, Jamaica and Cuba), comprising 18% of Latin America's population, the illiteracy level in 1968 averaged out to be a comparatively low 15% of the population, while the relatively high average

---

[1] Marquardt and Cortright: "Review of Contemporary Research on Literacy and Adult Education in Latin America," in Latin American Research Review (Latin American Studies Association), Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 47 - 69.

annual per capita income was close to $480, with a rural population of only some 30%. In eight countries not quite so well off with respect to illiteracy (Mexico, Panama, Equador, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Paraguay and Peru), with 70% of the region's population, the illiteracy rate averaged 33%, while per capita income averaged to a somewhat lower $325, and there was a more considerable rural population of 50%. Finally, in the third group there were seven countries (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Bolivia) with 10% of the area's population, suffering from a relatively high illiteracy rate of 57%, while earning a comparatively low average personal income of some $210, and with a substantial 70% of the population living in rural areas.[2]

From the above statistics we can draw the conclusion that the majority of the illiterates correspond to marginal and rural social areas, defined by such factors as geography, income and participation in the national economy. We can also postulate that the growth in absolute terms of the number of illiterates will continue in the future to sap the region's need for more sophisticated manpower, make any social modernization increasingly more difficult, and possibly lead to violence as burgeoning birth rates fill

---

[2] Statistics compiled from the "World Population Data Sheet--1968" published by the Information Service, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D. C., 1968.

the empty spaces with the technologically unemployable. These people cannot work in high paying industrial jobs; similarly they cannot help promote these industries as consumers; they will remain marginal liabilities to the process of development.

On the other hand, one should be aware of the effort being made by the Latin American nations during these last few years to expand their educational systems. According to UNESCO estimates, the percentage of public funds spent on the area's education went from 16.6% to 17.9% between 1962 and 1964 alone. Meanwhile the number of enrollments between 1955 and 1965 registered the following increases: 72% at the primary level; 120% at the secondary school level; 114% in higher education enrollment.

Nevertheless, one should note that even these advances in the school systems reflect mainly an increase in the volume of educational services available. What is not shown by the statistics is that despite these new efforts, there have been few cases where the objectives of this education have been critically re-evaluated. Consequently, we find that all too often Latin American education conforms to the values of traditional societies, without questioning whether or not these concepts are worthy of emulation and continued propagation. Seymour Martin Lipset, the noted American sociologist, concludes that "most analysts of Latin American

education agree that, at both university and secondary school levels, the content of education still reflects the values of a landed upper class."[3]

We find that the university educational systems maintain and contribute toward this traditionalist orientation of Latin American education, marked as it is principally by a cultural discrimination against the masses. Molding the intellectual, who is later going to be largely responsible for the mediation of new values, the formulation of social ideology and the creation of the national and collective self-image, these institutions tend thereby to maintain and augment the upper class prejudices which have characterized the region since the times of the colonies.

In addition to forms of cultural discrimination, the opportunity for higher education remains closed to many because of the expense and insufficient supply of scholarship funds available. The slow progress of democratization in education enables the formation of an elitist group on one hand, directing these countries politically and economically, while on the other, most are being condemned to the practice of certain manual chores which do not demand a knowledge of reading, writing or other skills, nor contribute substantially to the wealth of these nations.

---

[3] Seymour Martin Lipset: "Values, Education, and Entrepreneurship," in Lipset and Aldo Solari: Elites in Latin America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 190.

Still another aspect of the dysfunctionality of university education in Latin America is the excess number of courses in the humanities. In Haiti for example, where the rural population is 85%, the university law school is responsible for no less than 42% of the entire enrollment. This is the situation which with great frequency is seen throughout Latin America, with a few notable exceptions, such as Argentina. In general, the humanities tend to have an extraordinarily large percentage of the student body, which leads to manpower developments inappropriate for economic growth and social modernization.

The low level of scientific and technological development in these countries tends to determine and reflect low levels of production and productivity, and makes progress in the research and application of new techniques an obligatory goal of any education development plan. Whether talking about expanding the current social structure in its present form as conservatives advocate , or speaking more radically about social change with economic development, the demand for all levels of technologists figures in fundamentally. Consequently Latin American higher education is currently hard-pressed to adjust and expand twice over to meet the technological needs of 1980. Meanwhile however, Latin American universities continue to give preference to the socially prestigious careers in the humanities, irrespective of the requirements of society.

New demands on education in Latin America are nevertheless beginning to be felt. Latin Americans have long been aware of the never-ending circle of economic causes and effects which characterize their underdeveloped condition. They are aware, for example, that low productivity yields small profits, which limit research and development, which in turn help maintain productivity and profitability at their present low levels. However, only recently have they begun to view these problems in the larger context of social structures and political cultures, noting how problems of an economic nature can be related to, and even antagonized by, these various interrelating facets of society. Consequently, "development" today is becoming more frequently associated with the need for social change. From their point of view, social marginality is a normal product of the functioning of the present structures, and a fundamental liability in the process of development. Now there is increasing demand that education adjust itself to this type of problem and take part in the social changes the situation seems to require. Because of this new thinking, the new demands on education in Latin America are no longer likely to be restricted to the theoretical and applied sciences, but also increasingly involve the talents of the social sciences and the conscientious citizen.

These countries are moving toward new political and social cultures in which participation seems to be the key feature, linked with the belief that the ordinary man and his interests are socially relevant. In politics there is a redefining of interests and intentions, as seen, for example, in the recent social revolution in Peru, directed toward elements heretofore considered marginal and irrelevant. Similarly in the wider context of "culture," we see this same tendency clearly in evidence in Mexico, where anthropologists backed by important groups are attempting to rediscover and emulate some of the original indigenous practices of their culture.

While Latin America has found it relatively easy to modernize to a certain extent the educational system in fields directly related to the economy, principally through the incorporation of new techniques in teaching, it has been particularly difficult for them to change the content of courses in the social sciences and to put these schools to work in the service of constructing a new society. Lipset reports that "links with politics or religion have involved diffuse role obligations in which faculty have not been free to teach or publish findings in violation of the ideologies of groups which they are a part."[4] This considerably limits

---

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

the abilities of these institutions to fill their role as a critical conscience at the service of the nation, and a center through which society can critically look within itself and formulate goals.

As a social institution in Latin America, education has tended to act in a conservative manner with regard to social integration and cultural change. This is largely due to the fact that a common history of policy formation is shared with a number of other social institutions. These institutions typically interact in such a way as to protect their own vested interest, a factor which gives them an inherent bias against a redefinition of policies and objectives. Thus on one hand, the educational systems of Latin America have been fairly competent in acting to innovate changes in the natural and applied sciences, principally enlarging their commitments in these areas so vital for technological development, while on the other, these systems generate a great deal of internal resistance to efforts to modernize and apply new programs in the social sciences, where the very nature of the material implies the consideration of alternative social orientations which might threaten the existing arrangements. While technological advancement and social change tend to be seen as symbiotic in society, they also tend to demand that the educational system function in different ways. Technological development

requires the application of greater resources, while social change invariably involves a reorientation of objectives and a reordering of social values.

Confronted with a society committed to development, Latin American education tends to dedicate itself to prepare, in a rational and well-planned manner, the human resources necessary for the technological requirements of economic growth. At the same time, it tends to act in a conservative fashion, communicating the moral values necessary to legitimize the traditional duality of the system (those that participate and those who do not), or failing that, it prohibits those who are marginal to the economic or cultural society the conditions for self-development needed for an affirmation of their creative capacity, and consequently thereby denying their meaningful participation in the society's development.

This tendency is in evidence at many levels of education, as in the case with the adult illiterate. When the illiterate is not simply ignored and thereby denied his right to participate, all too often he is taught the mere mechanics of reading and writing and always as a cultural donation from above--from the state, private or religious groups--whose textbooks show an incognizance of the illiterate's creative capacity and interests as a human being.

When the reading materials reflect extraneous situations and values, they appear absurdly irrelevant to the illiterate.

Consequently, while the illiterate may learn a few words and how to write his name, very likely he will not grasp the significance of these skills as he can apply them to himself personally. He will remain in his typically passive and ingenous state and will soon forget what little he has learned. Socially dominant groups tend to take programs of this sort as definitive proof of the so-called inherent incapacity of the illiterate, an opinion even the illiterate is then unable to counter. The net result is that the status quo has been maintained and the marginal position of the illiterate has been legitimized. With literacy as one of the prime prerequisite for social integration and participation, this is one of the best examples of how education has acted in a conservative manner to preserve the established social structure.

In the traditional sector of education, one can find a remarkably similar situation. Secondary education in most Latin American schools consists largely of the memorization of certain facts or refrains for later recitation upon examination. Problem solving and original self-expression are not generally stressed, and where they are emphasized, students are not encouraged to give them application to social issues. These schools are largely ascriptive in their

appointment, admission and grading policies, and organized as a preparation for higher education, particularly for the type of education provided in the faculties of law. Unconsciously in their formative years, students in these societies are taught that inequality is inevitable and even just, while they eventually come to expect relatively prestigious positions in society as a birthright. The student thereby becomes accomodated to the distortions and prejudices of his society; indeed, he becomes a part of them.

Because of the already limited funds and facilities, when a person fails to progress sufficiently in these school systems, he is dropped. Very likely he will remain where he was forced to quit, and his only future opportunities--if any--will be in vocational education. Thus, while the educational system provides some with the opportunities for social mobility, it tends to school others into a position of confinement, marked by sentiments of inferiority, from which there are very few chances for self-liberation. A person dropped after six or seven years of education, for example, finds himself little better off than the illiterate. The high level of technology today lowers the social advantages achieved even a generation ago with merely a few years of elementary education. Today, a person in that position has merely proven to himself and others that he is incapable

of further progress and thereby legitimized his position near the bottom of the social ladder.

In addition to these problems, cost factors in Latin American education deserve consideration and concern. While "free elementary education for all" is a principle written into almost every Latin American constitution, still fewer than a third of any national age group gets beyond the sixth grade level. At the same time, less than one percent graduate with a university education. Still, no government is currently expending less than about 18% of its budget on these programs, and some are spending in excess of 30%. Costa Rica currently devotes 33% of its budget to education, thereby showing one of the lowest illiteracy rates in Latin America, a still rather substantial 15%.

In order to reliably offer twelve years of schooling for everyone, foreign aid would have to be increased to perhaps 30% of the area's combined national budgets. Needless to say, while such funds are nowhere in sight, neither would these countries find that kind of massive aid acceptable to their national autonomy and pride. For similar reasons, it is not likely that other national expenditures would be appreciably redirected in order to free the necessary funds. Anything short of titanic efforts would most likely lead to more education for the few at the neglect of the many. Meanwhile, we can expect the cost of education

to increase rapidly with the progress of technological sophistication.

One begins to wonder whether the concept of universal schooling, as presently conceived in the developed countries, has any real future in Latin America; certainly the standing commitments are insufficient. It is worth the time and opportunity now, it seems, to give the subject some critical reflection with an eye open for innovative suggestions. From the philosophical point of view, and in terms of more practical criteria, we should ask what we mean by the term "education" and then proceed to make that concept real, exercising the greatest economies possible in both time and physical resources.

While a detailed discussion of the philosophies concerning education is beyond the scope of this work, we might reflect briefly upon the basic purposes of education and the assumptions upon which they are based. By education we hope to 1) make the individual more valuable to himself, and 2) more valuable to others. Moreover, in any theory of education, we note that the objective is more than merely the linear transmission of knowledge for its own sake; education is an enriching process by which we aspire to become "more" or "better," and hence concerns a series of moral and humanitarian notions embracing both and individual and his society.[5]

---

[5]Education aspires to develop in the individual and the collectivity a critical view of reality, a confidence in

Speaking in more pragmatic terms, we look toward education to help rectify social deficiencies. Then we tend to talk about such concepts as "development," "modernization" and "democracy"--and very often we talk about them all at once. Education, in addition to improving our technical capacity, comes to play an important role by creating the necessary psychological orientations toward such social objectives. Harold D. Lasswell, for example, has gone to great lengths in specifying the personality characteristics of the "democratically oriented individual" developed through education. Among these he includes:

> 1) an 'open ego,' by which (is meant) a warm and inclusive attitude toward other human beings; 2) a capacity for sharing values with others; 3) a multi-valued rather than single-valued orientation; 4) trust and confidence in the human environment, and 5) relative freedom from anxiety.[6]

---

freedom and in one's creative capacity, a cooperative spirit, a sense of group solidarity and social discipline, a promotion of the common good, a capacity for generosity and sacrifice, a dedication to work and the acceptance of risk in new ventures; efficiency, rationality in the assignment of roles and benefits, respect for the opinions of others, etc.; all important in the realization of basic social goals. While no system of education fully attains all these goals, the list as such serves to delineate the bounds of optimism for our purposes.

[6]Harold D. Lasswell, from Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba: The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965) pp. 9 - 10. Almond and Verba go on to include "active citizen participation in civic affairs,. . .a high level of information about public affairs, and. . .a high level of

Such an opinion suggests that rather than serve to transmit legal and institutional norms, education to a larger extent shapes attitudes which come to characterize or even limit social prospects. Education not only develops an academic appreciation of techniques and processes (i.e., "scientific methodology" and "democratic processes") but often can be an actual practice in such terms, later to be generally applied to the individual's endeavors and even incorporated into his personality. The psychological factor becomes even more significant when we consider the fact that educational backgrounds shared among like-minded peers remain mutually reinforcing in precisely these elements (techniques, practices, mentalities, personalities and social relationships) long after formal schooling has been completed.[7]

As we might expect, and as countless empirical studies demonstrate, the normative differences between the educated

---

information about public affairs, and. . .a widespread sense of civic responsibility" (Ibid.). Almond and Verba reached their conclusions after studying the social cultures of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and Mexico.

[7] As a correlate, it can be said that through these effects of education men become at least free for political and social action, although whether and how they use their capacity depends upon other factors. Education for example undoubtedly increases one's awareness of the political system, but whether he comes to support it or react hostily against it depends upon a number of other factors outside of education, per se. This is an opinion we hold in agreement with Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 319.

and those with little or no education are substantial.[8] The less educated strata of the population tends to constitute subjected and parochial subcultures, largely marginal to the aspirations of the national culture. The significant point is that these groups are cut off, denied even the minimal educational credentials needed for participation. Their only remaining options are those of oppressed people everywhere: submission within the existing cultural order, accomodation by some other means (commitment to a reservation or other transplantation), or some combination of these two.

To the extent that we eulogize democracy and define it in terms of universal participation and a sharing among the people of the decision making processes, then we note from the above how important a role education plays in its feasibility. Without education, we cannot expect an individual to participate critically in a government of democracy; the only alternative for the uneducated is to be ruled by someone else. Many feel this is precisely the reason why democracy in Latin America has had such a limited success; correspondingly, they see its future to a large extent dependent upon the progress that can be made in education.

Due to the interrelation of education with other social institutions, it is particularly difficult to talk

---

[8] Ibid., pp. 317 - 318.

about education in isolation, as we have already noted. Therefore, if the time is right for innovation in education, we must develop it in relation to social changes, needs, and aspiration, while considering such philosophical concepts as what may constitute an education and an educated man.

Let us turn now to a discussion of one of the alternatives, a new educational theory being developed and applied in Latin America today.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL METHOD

One of Latin America's strongest critics of education has been Paulo Freire, a Brazilian more recently working in an institute of the Chilean Agrarian Reform program. Though he harbors a variety of pedagogical interests, he is known above all for his radical method of literacy training for adults. For his work in this important field, he has received both praise and condemnation. He is currently the subject of great controversy in Latin America. His essays have been heralded as "pedagogy of change," "demogogic," and "promoting subversion." Freire has voluntarily exiled himself from his native Brazil, following a seventy-day period of imprisonment and intimidation from the military regime which overthrew the Brazilian government of President Goulart in 1964, and still is in power there.

Professor Freire criticizes traditional Latin American education for "resting on the (mere) sonority of words, the memorization of paragraphs; for being unrelated to reality; for its tendency to consider the media of learning in the most simplistic manner."[9] He sees the Latin's predilection

---

[9] Paulo Freire, La educación como práctica de la libertad (Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria, 1969), p. 87. I have taken the liberty

for verbalism reflected in their national politics. There is an excessive emphasis on discourse and the "rounding out of sentences, which is an oral manifestation. . .revealing before anything else a mental attitude. . .almost devoid of profundity." He finds at the roots of their empty verbalism, their democratic inexperience and a mental attitude which prejudices against the critical consciousness needed for individual fulfillment and social democracy.[10]

Freire's conception of educational theory throws out the principles behind mechanical memorization of phrases, words and syllables. Idle memorization cannot bring life and meaning to the subject at hand. He feels that somehow learning must bring with it and develop an attitude of creativity which will transform the individual into a fertile and productive entity.[11]

More specifically Freire criticizes traditional literacy training for being "ingenuous" ("Father and Mother went

---

of making my own translations of the author's words wherever I have found it convenient to cite his work in this paper.

This Chilean edition is a translation by the author of the original Brazilian edition (1967) and contains a preface for Chilean readers by Francisco Weffort. In addition, there exists a Venezuelan translation (without introduction), and editions to be published in New York and Paris were being anticipated in 1969. Much of what follows in this chapter comes from the Chilean edition.

[10] Ibid., p. 87.

[11] Ibid., p. 99.

with John to pass their vacation in the house of Uncle Peter"[12]), "domesticating" and "alienating" (because never are real problems of the people concerned referred to) and "apprehensive of freedom" (because if represses a person's freedom to choose and discuss his own words and concepts). Freire proposes an alternative method of education, whereby he invites the student to criticize reality and thereby become conscious of his being "dated and situated" in the world. He hopes to develop a "critical view" in the individual, designed to allow him to self-discover how his work and very existence transform reality to suit new and expanded purposes.

For some Freire's interest in a persons's first letters appears exaggerated. It is more easily understood if we realize that the Brazilian was a professor of his native tongue and loves language as only a philologist can. The essence of education to Professor Freire is to develop the proper use of words, to facilitate the expression of ideas. (In addition, Dr. Freire was professor of the history and philosophy of education at the University of Recife,

---

[12] Another favorite example of Professor Freire is "Eva dio la uva a la ave," which means "Eve gave the grape to the bird." While the phrase was obviously chosen for its phonetic composition, one cannot help noting how absurd its meaning is. This can be particularly true in areas of Latin America where there are few women named Eva, few grapes, and of course even fewer birds with an appetite for vineyard produce.

Pernambuco, Brazil, until 1964, which further qualifies him as a professional educational theorist).

To Freire each word has two dimensions which cannot be dichotomized: reflection and action. A true word at once 1) reflects man's position in the world, and 2) directs his "ontological vocation" of transforming it to meet his own specifications and requirements. If words do not propose action, then we fall prey to verbalism; or, if there is no reflection involved, the tendency is toward irrelevant activism. It is from this great esteem for the central position of language in our lives and an observation of "great social inquietude" that he goes on to develop a theory of education relevant to the contemporary social situation.

In Brazil's northeastern province of Pernambuco, that nations's most impoverished area, Freire reportedly grew up a child of misery and hunger. Today he speaks emotionally about his friends who played with him in the streets and later came to die young of tuberculosis. He asks himself why they died instead of he himself. One might expect that he succeeded because of his natural fortitude and capacity, but he denies this. They died, he says, because they asked for food in the streets and received it, staying permanently dependent upon these hand-outs. Instead, he felt shame living like that and robbed discretely in order to stay alive

and break out of that lowest of vicious circles. By the time his generation entered the national university, he had just begun his secondary education.[13]

From all this comes his strong humanitarian inspiration and dedication as a man and educator: "to struggle for a world in which children are not hungry without knowing why, a world in which they can laugh, play and enjoy living, and a world in which all men can love, can create and make themselves more."[14] These lifetime experiences, and his educational attainments and aspirations qualify him as a dedicated authority.

As a humanistic educator, Paulo Freire states that it is more important from his educational point of view that a peasant learn that "pala" (shovel) is an object of culture, created by men to anwer the challenge of their existence, intended to allow them to make themselves more, and that in the hands of the farmer it is an instrument with which to transform the world--than merely the composite of two syllables "pa" and "la." The essence, he feels, is not to talk or read mechanically, but to consciously realize that saying a word is at once "discovering oneself to be a man, discovering the world, demythologizing reality. . .transforming the

---

[13] Elena Vial, "El silabario de la revolución," Ercilla (edition unknown), 1969.

[14] Ibid.

world. . .and becoming an individual."[15] Significantly, he observes that this is not possible in traditional types of education where the paternalistic instructor considers students to be "empty jars" in which learning is often deposited "from above."

The relative positions of the teacher and pupil are very important considerations, Freire feels, because of the effects these may come to have on the student. Culture being regarded as closely linked with literacy,[16] implies that the teacher is magnanimously bestowing his "superior" culture on the ignorant student. This intensifies a sense of subordination and worthlessness that many students, and particularly the adult illiterate student as a member of the lower class, have already experienced. This kind of education, if it implies social domestication and compartmentalization cannot thereby be the hope of self-liberation that it is meant to be. In such societies as those of Latin America, we can expect this kind of experience to further exaggerate any fatalistic attitudes and the already dominant paternalistic nature of class relations.

Freire aspires to a new context for education, where it would become a "process involving values, forming

---

[15] Ibid.

[16] Culto in both Spanish and Portuguese connotes a polished literary style.

mentalities and leading to social and political consequences,[17] irrespective of the mere technical skills acquired in the process. Because of this, the technique which Professor Freire developed for adult literacy training is also known as the "psycho-social method" (when it is not simply referred to as the "Freire method"). It is precisely for "psycho-social" reasons that the method rejects what has been the common usage of children's texts for adult illiterates and the introduction of urban middle class images and values unrelated to the problems and interests of the chiefly rural adult illiterate, and a whole series of other misconceived and misdirected intentions and practices of traditional education. Nothing can be more alienating, he states for example, than the forced introduction of inapplicable advice and unrelated values contaminating the reading material, which so often is done at the insistence and even initiative of foreign groups renown for their contempt of regional and local cultures not their own.

Professor Freire asks himself <u>why</u> these people should be taught how to read and write. He explains that he is confronted with "societies in transition" where the challenges and policies of development necessarily imply transformation. Backwardness, dependence and immobility are

---

[17] Thomas G. Sanders, "The Paulo Freire Method," <u>West Coast South America Series</u>, Vol. XV, No. 1, p. 2.

being replaced by new economic orientations, industrialization and greater class mobility. Politically and culturally, closed societies are now moving toward greater openness in which traditional themes such as democracy, popular participation, liberty, property and authority are increasingly being viewed in new contexts. Accordingly each new population must learn how to deal effectively with these new situations as they develop. Freire asks if it is necessarily desireable or proper now to teach the values and role orientations of a traditional, pre-industrial society. If not, what then can be done to adopt an education relevant both now and in the future?

Analyzing Brazilian society between 1960 and 1963, Freire became convinced that alongside the economist, sociologist and other specialists, it was the role of the educator in his own right to provide an interpretation and orientation during this epoch of transition. What this required was an educational technique that would in itself provide the impetus for a critical evaluation of the situation as well as initiate the development of a critical judgement among those participating in the program. This would be the kind of education capable of moving the individual from a position of passive ingenuousness to one of active, critical participation. This in turn was seen as a way to put the Brazilian man in a position resistant to

the powers of emotion and instinct pernitious to his own personal and social development. It was apparent to Freire that the emotions and irrationalities of traditional prejudices would have to give way to a more and more rational, intellectual environment. Development, he observed, involves much more than complex technical and political questions and economic or structural reform: it encompasses also a complete change of mentality. Thus he saw a need for an education that would bring both effective decision making and socio-political responsibility.[18]

In sociological terms, Freire reasoned that any separation between those who are knowledgeable and those who are not (like the separation between the elites and the masses) is only the fruit of historical circumstance and can and should be transformed for pragmatic and humanitarian reasons. Citing the American sociologist Lipset, he asserts that unless another mentality is reached, the dominant class in society will continue as in the past to "see the political rights of the lower classes, particularly their integration into the power structure, as something absurd and immoral."[19]

According to Freire's view of Brazil in its transitional period where traditional and modern values were almost everywhere in conflict, the cultural climate contained

---

[18] Freire, op. cit., pp. 79 - 81.

[19] Ibid.

the mere possibility of democratic development, but did not necessarily assure such an orientation. He reasoned that democracy, before it can be considered as a political form, must already be prevalent in the society, and readily observed with its nature of critical social debate among diverse and participating sectors. Democratic action of any type requires not only the consent of the people, but their active and intelligent participation. This was not the case in Brazil.[20]

To assure democracy in the future, Freire felt that the populace--all classes--must come to possess at least a minimum of those technical skills and critical attitudes necessary for perceptive and rational participation. This he found requires first that those unreflective "ingenuous" and "magical" attitudes frequently held by the upper and lower classes, respectively, become increasingly more "critical" in nature. In this way the people would be transformed into politically active citizens, or at least politically free for political participation. The Brazilian case demonstrated the particular importance of developing each individual's critical capacity and consciousness. Freire observed that the principle of "one man, one vote" did not assure true democracy in Brazil because often the masses were unwittingly manipulated by middle men (the

---

[20] Ibid., p. 76.

populist leaders), who were in turn manipulated by the elites. In this manner, the dominated peasant was all the more likely to legitimize his own oppression.

By the "ingenuous" attitude mentioned above, Freire refers to those who typically give a most simplistic interpretation of the problems confronting them. He continues: they are apt to consider the best time to be that of the past; they underestimate the capacity of the common man; they are exceptionally gregarious and anxious to separate themselves from the masses; they dislike taking recourse to investigation and are therefore inclined to make explanations in terms of mere fable; they are weak in making rational argument and tend toward an emotional irrationality; and they are not interested in dialogue, but polemics. Freire writes that "the ingenuous consciousness. . .believes that it is superior to the facts, manipulating these facts from outside reason and by so doing feels itself free to interpret these facts in the manner which suits itself best."[21]

The "magical" consciousness, on the other hand, does not manipulate the facts, but upon observing them, attributes their existence to a superior power that seems to capriciously control destiny. These people consequently are willing to subjugate themselves docilely to a

---

[21] Ibid., p. 94.

never-changing state of mere existence, feeling hopelessly incapable of overcoming their circumstances. A symptom of this frame of mind is the attitude of fatalism which makes them cross their arms, defeated by a supernatural power. Typically, this is almost everywhere the conscious of the illiterate and peasant population living at a subsistence level.

Those that possess the ingenuous attitude are the ones that want to "domesticate" the masses and isolate them from political and social participation as much as possible, Freire observed. The "magical" consciousness, on the other hand, is quite willing to adapt to these pressures of the elite, and is facilitated by all kinds of mythical interpretations developed for rapid and complete assimilation. The simple man, thus subjugated and directed by the power of myths that certain powerful social forces have created for him, under these circumstances becomes tragically fearful of his situation, and what is more, comes to fear his very existence among other men. Freire notes that these people possess a seemingly unbelievable willingness to accept their imposed subhuman and inferior status.

Men in order to achieve the capacity to live among one another must replace raw instinct and emotion with more rational thinking. Thus in sharp contrast with the two attitudes held by an overwhelming majority of the Brazilian

population, Freire advocated a "critical consciousness" based on the representation of objects and data as they are given to be by empiricism. While the ingenuous and superstitious attitudes are above reality, a critical consciousness is characterized by its integration with reality.[22]

Freire insists upon "integration," not "accomodation," in the human sphere. An integration with reality results in the usage of all our capacities to transform it and opt among various possibilities, choosing that option which benefits most. In this manner integration with reality is active, whereas accomodation is passive. When a man takes part in decision making, he is integrated and active; when he is accomodated by others, he is passive. The observance of the passive aspect in a human being shows that this is not a man capable of transforming reality to better his position. To the contrary, he has been forced to change himself and adapt like an animal in order to protect himself. When a man loses his freedom and capabity to choose among different plans of action, he becomes subjugated to the foreign prescriptions of others. When this happens the man is minimized, adjusted, manipulated and accomodated.[23]

The course of action undertaken by the active critical consciousness, integrated with reality, is very different

---

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 127.

from those of the ingenuous mentality (with its simplistic monologue) or the magical consciousness (with its superstitious fatalism). Central to the critical consciousness is the analysis and resolution of problems by "dialogue" among men, which contrasts with the polemic or monologue tendency of the ingenuous and the sullen silence (in the intellectual sense) of the depraved fatalist. Freire contends that only through the extensive use of dialogue can men reach meaningful and just conclusions for collective action. Freire's concern is for a contemporary pedagogy: "an education for self-determination, for social and political responsibility."[24] His aspiration to political democracy and social justice consequently focus on dialogue as a central factor in their effective realization.

To bring this important aspect of dialogue into actual use during the learning experience (and to thereby develop a critical consciousness), Freire proposed the use of "circles of culture," a teaching situation which would substitute for the school, which he considers authoritarian as much in structure as by tradition. These circles are to be composed of a couple dozen participants, among whom there is a "coordinator" who works with them as they collectively explore their environment and the complete use of their language. This coordinator is ideally a young person

---

[24] Ibid., p. 26 (from the introduction).

who knows that he cannot serve as a professor, but instead realizes that only through an extensive use of dialogue can they accomplish the essential and revealing aspect of self-discovery. Consequently, if these principles are strictly adhered to, the coordinator is never in a position to directly influence the participants or impose his own judgement.

With this setup, Freire idealizes a respect for those that are educating themselves. In this way education can never be alienating. Never are the students to be referred to as "illiterates" (analfabetos), but as "those that are learning to read" (alfabetizandos). Furthermore, the technique is such that it requires the maximum cooperation of the participants in the actual formation and structuring of the program. Even the words and situations to be disucssed in the circles are to be taken directly from the intimate environment of the participants. The educator is responsible only for observing and selecting words from their daily life which are essential in terms of their relevance to the actual living situation, frequency of use, and type of phonetic complexity.

These selected words of common usage in the language of the people, charged with the thinking, problems and aspirations of the community at hand, are of paramount importance to the program: from these words those that

are learning will go on to discover syllables, letters and structural peculiarities of their (written) language, and from this basis, continue on still farther to discover new words. Freire has given these beginning words the name of "generating words" (palabras generadoras), because from their discussion and consideration in dialogue, the participant will come to take full command of his language.

The emphasis is made clear; never are the words to be studied considered as a "donation" or "fact" given by the educator, but rather as themes for debate among all those participating in the circles of culture. In this manner then, words will never exist independent of their real meaning and actual reference to specific meaningful situations. Thus, in Brazil, Professor Freire observed and chose the word "favela" (slum) as one of the seventeen words in a course he initially conducted in an urban setting.[25] This word was projected on a screen with a pictoral representation underneath it to which it referred. Not only would the participant then analyze or "decodify" the syllables and letters, but what is equally important, he would simultaneously be exposed to a real situation which he is thereby asked to consider and evaluate. In this manner the student becomes aware of how to decodify a situation and observe what is relevant about it, just as

---

[25] See Apendix A.

on the outside he would identify and analyze propaganda found in advertising or politics.[26]

An essential aspect of the method, Freire points out, is that in this manner of simultaneously representing a situation in pictoral and verbal form, the actual literacy training is never separated from a collective consideration of the situation represented. By means of dialogue the situation is carefully analyzed in all its manifest aspects by the participants in the circle. In this way not only does the illiterate learn the (mere) technique of reading, he is also and simultaneously developing a critical consciousness: "the representation of things and facts such as they are given by empirical existence. In their causal and circumstantial correlations." Freire refers to this aspect of his method as "conscientização" or "concientización," which means specifically the "taking of critical consciousness."

"Concientización" begins very early during the program in its initial stage of three sessions dedicated to motivating the student. This is initiated in the circles of culture with a discussion and analysis of the concept of culture. In the Freire method, the beginning of a critical outlook comes from distinguishing nature and human culture. Nature is viewed as the matrix in which we live, while culture is considered that which man contributes through his

---

[26] Freire, op. cit., p. 108.

own work and inventiveness. This anthropological definition of culture is used to show that all men have culture and that it is no monopoly of the learned. Freire uses a picture of an Indian shooting a bow to demonstrate this. In this picture the illiterates sees that he has a certain dominion over nature by means of his creations. He then realizes that he already has culture and that at best culture is relative. What is more, the illiterate comes to take command of a word ("culture"), although this will not immediately be a conscious fact. In this manner he will continue with other concepts and their word representations.[27]

When a person begins the transition toward a critical awareness in this manner, he is still liable to give answers to a situation which remain wrapped up in myth. Even though his horizons are beginning to widen and include more and more critical judgment, and although he has learned to evaluate a situation with others by means of dialogue, he is still somewhat liable to disfigure the facts and distort his reasoning. What is interesting, however, even in this transitional state, is that the passive fatalist previously inclined to inaction takes up a more active self-education and investigation, characterized among other things by a profundity of interpretation when confronted with problems.

---

[27] Sanders, op. cit., p. 7.

Mythical interpretations begin to be substituted by causal relationships, by searching for "events" and by a willingness to review and reconsider. This in turn will lead to the acceptance of that which is new, and will not adopt the old just because it is old, but rather by that which it may retain of value.[28]

Concientización could be an element of any kind of education; it is not necessarily limited to literacy training. Freire believes that concientización must proceed and continue to progress with all learning. An individual must always be conscious of himself and his surroundings and understand how he relates to these. (This is particularly true in the case of the illiterate, who must understand these relationships before he can perceive them in abstraction, as in word form). It is in this way that Freire challenges the traditional aspects of education, where learning was believed to be the mere acquisition of technical skills. Through concientización, the educational process becomes a great deal more, involving the consideration of values and the shaping of mentalities eventually leading toward individual and social consequences. Freire observes that there is no need for an education separated from our lives, one that would be centered upon words devoid of the reality they are supposed to represent, nor an

---

[28] Freire, op. cit., p. 59.

education which would be deficient in the activities by which the student obstains experience in developing the critical conscious indispensable for productive work.[29]

Concientización, and in fact all of Paulo Freire's educational theory, assumes that freedom to examine and choose among options is an essential aspect of human existence. Not only is this an educational axiom; this is a central aspect of Freire's Christian existentialist world-view. In keeping with this, his techniques stress that education itself must be an affirmation of liberty. Without this affirmation, the door to self-discovery would remain closed to the individual and his capacity for critical participation in society would be stifled.

Thus, the idea of freedom is not merely an abstract concept, nor merely considered a human aspiration, but is viewed philosophically as a fundamental interest which according to Freire must be an aspect developed in any successful educational theory. This in fact is the title of his major work on the subject: "Education as a Practice in Freedom." The program he proposes does not merely idealize freedom, but creates the psychological state in the individual by giving him confidence in his own capacity for original and individual participation.

---

[29] Ibid., p. 86.

Allowing for complete educational freedom, specifically how these newly acquired potentialities and attitudes developed through the program come to be applied cannot be foreseen or taught using the method Freire proposes. Freire has gone to great lengths in developing his educational theories so that they will not be subverted to serve as media for political indoctrination or paternalistic admonitions. Quite the opposite of these, he attempts to create an atmosphere where ideas can be freely considered and debated.[30]

Any attempt at indoctrination, by its very definition, implies what Freire terms a "cultural invasion." This is so because an attempt is being made to forcefully introduce ideas and concepts foreign to the native environment. Generally, Freire has found that cultural invasions are for the most part rejected by the illiterate as irrelevant (as indeed they are) or nonsensical (as they at least appear). The illiterate remains unresponsive to this kind of treatment, and in fact, Freire cites this as most often the failing of traditional literacy techniques. An example of cultural invasion is often found in church-sponsored programs in Latin America, which have incorporated some of the "mechanical techniques" developed by Dr. Freire while at the same time attempting to directly influence the illiterate in a predetermined manner on matters of society and religion

---

[30] Ibid., p. 36.

(and thus running counter to many of the foremost precepts of Freire's theory of education as a practice in freedom).[31] The only ideology put forward tacitly in Freire's program of education is a kind of humanism that affirms the freedom and capacity of the people to decide their own destiny.

The men Freire intends to reach with his method are those with practical interests, not elites inclined to idle theory and speculation. The men learning in the circles of culture are dealing with words representing real facets of their lives; studies of techniques and abstract notions are gone from the curriculum. Freire observes that these men he strives to reach are "situated and dated" in the world, and thereby acknowledges the intimate relationship between the world each man perceives and the way he acts.[32] Thus, like the existentialist, he recognizes each man's irreducible uniqueness, and the isolation and subjective experiences which he must have had. Undoubtedly for these reasons he is so sensitive to the peculiarities of each man's environment and goes to such extremes to make his educational principle adapt to their circumstances.[33]

---

[31] See Apendix B.

[32] Ibid., p. 40.

[33] Freire's philosophical concepts are reportedly based on "the phenomenology of Husserl, existentialists like Buber and Mounier, Marxist humanists like Schaff, (and) the psychoanalytical theory of Fromm. . . ." (From Sanders, op. cit.,

The vision of freedom in this theory is central to its understanding, and freedom is fundamentally a socio-political concept. Inasmuch as he affirms the importance of freedom, Freire thereby acknowledges its opposite, the existence of oppression, and concomittantly the struggle against oppression for freedom. He observes that in a sense, the learning process cannot help but tacitly be a criticism of oppression and an expression of the struggle to liberate oneself. The struggle for freedom he sees as a historical fact, largely conditioned by his experiences in the ortheast of Brazil, although widely observed elsewhere. The development of Paulo Freire's work is intimately related to the popular awakening of the masses in Brazil's Northeast. Observing this phenomenon, Freire developed something original to contribute and thereby did more than just remain a spectator. His was a program developed for the emerging classes in Brazil in particular, and for the Third World in general.

This awakening began around 1962 in the northeastern province of Pernambuco, the poorest region in Brazil, where among a population of some 25-million inhabitants there were nearly 15-million illiterates. According to Brazilian

---

p. 3). A twenty-eight page discourse on the psychological aspects of the psycho-social method is attempted in Raúl Veloso, El problema de la conciencia (Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria, 1968).

election laws established by the 1946 constitution, only people that are literate can vote. Hence the Northeast, whose population approximated 30% of the entire Brazilian population, found its political influence at the polls reduced to about 15%, or approximately half that what it could be. In the words of one student of Brazilian politics, noting the wide variance of voting potential in different regions and citing two extremes: "the 'rural' areas in the Northeast were found to have one potential voter per 11.6 inhabitants whereas the 'urban' sectors of Brazils's four sourthern states offered one per 2.4 inhabitants." This he attributes principally to the 20% literacy rate in the Northeast "rural" areas as compared with a 79% literacy rate in the southern "urban" centers.[34]

Acknowledging the miserable aconomic plight of the region, like Freire, a great many groups becqme interested in literacy training as a worthwhile economic, social and political goal, but inasmuch as the electoral franchise is determined by literacy requirements, the implications of literacy work almost inevitably take on some rather sinister political connotations which are apt to obliterate any beneficial economic or social considerations. Thus, in addition to the lip service of many Brazilian liberals dating back into the 1930's, literacy programs in the

---

[34] John W. F. Dulles, Unrest in Brazil (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1970), p. 365.

Northeast attracted the interest of such diverse groups as the Alliance for Progress, the Brazilian Catholic Church and the local Communist party.

The liberal social and economic intentions of the Alliance for Progress program have been spelled out in volumes of literature expounding the proprosals originally agreed to at Punta del Este in 1961. At that time, regional development work in the northeast of Brazil was a specific example of what its founders had in mind. This concern of the Kennedy years established as its leit-motiv the misery of this region and consequently became involved in the city of Angicos, Rio Grande do Norte. While their work in literacy training at that site was shortly abandoned in favor of other programs,[35] the results which they obtained attracted the attention of Paulo Freire working at the University of

---

[35] Several reasons for its abandonment have been suggested by Paulo de Tarso Santos, former Minister of Education in the government of João Goulart, then in power. First he postulates that those initiating the program developed some of the rudimentary concepts which Freire went on to perfect, but realized the disadvantages of trying to carry on the program alone. Secondly, they may have voluntarily stopped work as soon as the Federal Government became interested and took up its cause. Thirdly, they may have perceived some political consequences which they were unable to deal with effectively, being after all sponsored by a regional program initiated and financed by Washington. In any event, the Angicos experiment did not become the cause championed by the Alliance in its other programs throughout Latin America, (From an interview with Paulo de Tarso, Santiago, Chile, August 19, 1969).

Recife, and were impressive indeed: three hundred workers were taught how to read and write in only forty-five days, profoundly impressing public opinion in general and attracting the attention of the Federal Government, which set about applying its principles throughout the country.[36]

At the same time, basic education and social reform in Brazil were attracting the interest of many Catholic groups, particularly those of a more progressive orientation. Among others there was Açáo Católica, which reportedly favored radical social reforms in order to "transcend Communism and liberal capitalism"[37] and in turn went on to found a number of Catholic youth groups of a similar vein, all of which resolved to be active in bringing about radical change in Brazil because of what they felt were shortcomings in its social and economic structure. Thus, the Catholic university youth movement affirmed that if Brazil were socialist, it would be more Christian. In this manner we see that many organizations of the progressive Church were tacitly

---

[36] Freire, op. cit., p. 24 (from the introduction by Francisco Weffort).

[37] Paulo de Tarso, remarks made in an introduction to two of his speeches in the Brazilian national Congress. Paulo de Tarso was the leader of the left wing of the Christian Democratic Party and served as a congressman representing São Paulo; later he became Education Minister in Goulart's second cabinet.

and in fact often formally aligned with leftist political groups coincidently harboring similar reform-minded social sentiments.[38]

Meanwhile, the programs of Brazil's thirteen political parties ran the entire spectrum of political philosophies, but in practice their proposals were in most cases vague, and all kinds of alliances were apt to be the case in both national and regional elections. Though the Brazilian Communist Party had been active formally endorsing the popular reform measures which President Goulart began pushing in early 1963, leftist political activity remained diffuse. It was found not only in Goulart's personal enterage, but in such parties as the Christian Democratic Party and a variety of socially eccentric personalities like Francisco Julião. These groups perceived the political implications of a widespread and successful literacy training program and attempted to make short-term political gains from its application.

Thus, in this environment which cried out for basic education at a time when the masses were beginning to take consciousness, Freire saw a situation of depravity which required his concern as a humanist and an educator. His response was the development of the psycho-social method,

---

[38] This, including the quotation cited, is taken from a brief discussion of related political events found in Dulles, op. cit., pp. 215 - 217.

and was hailed by a number of groups for the value of its humanitarian and social relevance. In this phase then, the educational technique which he initiated represented a solution in the educational plane to the need of an authentic democratic concientización of the Brazilian masses. Because Freire had so perceptively analyzed what the situation needed, his ideas spread rapidly throughout Brazil even before he was able to present his ideas coherently in book form. (Freire claims this came about principally through conferences in public and discussions with adversaries of the popular education movement).

In any event, almost as fast as the program was being developed by Freire and his associates, it became an interest of frenzied political activity among popular reform groups, and likewise almost immediately came to be viewed with great apprehension by their antagonists on the other side of the political spectrum. Nevertheless, properly applied, the psycho-social method with its aspect of concientización cannot in itself indoctrinate, nor can it be said to take specific, predictable directions. Indeed as we have noted, one of its unique attractions is its freedom from either paternalism or outside ideologies. Freire claims that concientización eliminates the traditional situation of social marginality and is fundamentally democratic in its approach, but notes that it does not propose determined political objectives.

In developing a critical capacity, the program also opens the path toward the possibility of seeking an independent or original direction and is very often characterized by a search among individuals and social groups for effective channels of action. If thereafter acknowledged dissatisfaction follows (as it did in Brazil), this is simply because it has been a dormant aspect of the subculture transcending the initiation and realization of the program.

Freire is aware that the program will catalyze the formation of interest groups whose inevitable consequence is political participation and community action seeking to achieve their collective aspirations, but as Freire has noted, the right of the individual to select his own objectives and contest them locally or nationally is at the foundation of democratic theory. Freire observes that his social education method cannot be considered democratically subversive, but rather like democracy itself, holds change to be one of its implicit values.

What developed in Brazil was a situation charged with emotion and even hysteria. In June of 1963, in order to initiate a program of popular reforms, President Goulart dismissed his cabinet and formed a new one of a more reform-minded nature. One of the men he brought to the new cabinet was a respected former federal congressman from São Paulo named Paulo de Tarso Santos, who was leader of the left wing

of the Christian Democratic Party and came to assume directorship of the national Ministry of Education. During the course of his tenure in office his friendship and political affinity with Paulo Freire grew considerably. Under Paulo de Tarso, the Ministry committed itself to a literacy campaign on a national scale using the method at that time being developed by Paulo Freire from the Angicos experiment and in his own work for the Service of Cultural Extension at the University of Recife. Within eight months, training courses for the program coordinators were conducted in nearly every state. Some six thousand persons volunteered in the state of Rio de Janeiro (and Guanabara) alone. Plans for 1964 projected the beginning of twenty thousand circles of culture, intended to bring literacy and critical awareness to some two million illiterates in a course projected to run a mere three months. In this manner, the forty million Brazilian illiterates were to be eliminated within a few years.

This program of popular education was only one of several forms of popular mobilization adopted by the government of Goulart. In addition, the Ministry of Labor initiated a program designed to form a large number of unions. Thus, in the relatively short period of twelve months, 1300 rural unions were created. Shortly thereafter there were two great rural strikes in Pernambuco, with a participation of 85,000 in the first one and 230,000 in the second.

The situation was compounded by the activity of private interest groups that wanted to jump on the bandwagon. Among these were the Popular Culture Movement of the National Union of Students (in which Freire reportedly participated[39]), and the Movement of Basic Education (MEB) administered by the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops and benefiting from funds of the Ministry of Education. Members of Açao Popular, a Catholic group using Ministry funds were to distribute MEB's reading primer.

This primer told the adult that was just learning to read that "a complete change in Brazil is necessary" and "the people have a duty to fight for justice." Other examples were: "The Brazilian people are an exploited people; Exploited not only by Brazilians; There are many foreigners exploiting the people; How can one free Brazil from this situation?" The reading primer went on to speak of God and referred to Him as "Justice and Love."[40]

The coup which came to overthrow Goulart in March of 1964 had many causes, but there was an underlying concern: the fear by the upper and middle classes that a fundamental political power shift was taking place, whereby the majority of the population, the illiterate and the semi-illiterate

---

[39] Sanders, op. cit., p. 3.

[40] Movimento de Educaçao de Base, Viver E Lutar: 2o Livro de Leitura Para Adultos, quoted in Dulles, op. cit., p. 217.

masses, would gain an influence proportional to their numbers. During this period the specter of a communist threat had begun to grow and be exploited by the dominant classes. The popular education movement with which Freire had been associated could not have failed to be affected by the resulting political turmoil. The popular reform programs constituted a terrifying prospect to those that enjoyed a comfortable monopoly of wealth and power. They reacted in such a way that would assure the continuance of their privileges.

Immediately upon seizing power, the coup replacing Goulart enacted an Institutional Act of April 9, 1964, and soon thereafter acting on the basis of that act, deprived one hundred influential members of the previous government of their political rights for a decade. Among those mentioned were Goulart and his Minister of Education, Paulo de Tarso. The victims of the decree could neither defend themselves nor make appeals; nor were they told what the charges had been. After the inauguration of Castelo Branco as President, successive lists appeared bringing to 299 the number of those whose rights were suspended. Among this number were reportedly 5 governors (including the governor of Pernambuco), 11 mayors, 51 federal congressmen, 2 senators and 46 military officers.[41]

---

[41] Dulles, op. cit., pp. 357 - 359.

Paulo Freire was one of those that the new regime intended to remove from any position of political influence. Shortly after the coup, Freire was relieved of his responsibilities at the University of Recife. After a period of intimidation and seventy days in jail, he left the country originally for Bolivia before going on to Chile. Many perceived in Freire's program of popular education the very germ of revolt that was growing among the masses. Freire claims that all knew of the Catholic schooling which he had received as well as his attempt to realize a national aspiration proclaimed since 1920 by all political groups: the extension of literacy to include all the nation and the "democratic amplification" of popular participation. Nevertheless, it was impossible for the reactionaries to understand how a Catholic educator had come to express the oppression of the masses and, still less, how culture extended to the masses had led them to doubt the privileges of those with influence.

Reflecting back on the situation which developed in Brazil, Freire observes that "education as a practice in freedom" can work jointly with mass politics, but that the work of orienting a people's consciousness in a specifically political direction belongs to the politicians and not to the educator.[42] He suggests that henceforth more

---

[42] Freire, op. cit., p. 29 (from the introduction).

attention should be given by prominent national groups to reach out and embrace the emerging sectors so that they might more easily become integrated with the national reality. In the Brazilian example Freire believes the situation was compromised by the ambivalence of the government and the lack of a well though out, comprehensive plan of reform on the national level. The masses which might have backed Goulart at the time of the coup had failed to realize their potential and, with their limited amount of self-confidence, gave no support to the government during the situation of violence accompaning the coup.

What happened in Brazil was largely the product of a situation highly charged with socio-political unrest and emotion. This can be seen in the actions and rhetoric of President Goulart and that of his opponents; certainly the subsequent actions of those that engineered the coup showed no less zeal. It seems that the situation got out of hand shortly after the reform programs were initiated and subsequent excesses were committed on both sides of the controversy. In any event the environment was not one propitious to the careful execution and analysis of an innovative program in education, and Freire's enthusiasm for the program and bitterness in regard to his Brazilian critics reveals this.

CHAPTER III

LITERACY TRAINING IN CHILE: A COMPREHENSIVE APPLICATION OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL METHOD

The 1964 Chilean election coincided with the rightest coup in Brazil of that same year. As a consequence of the Christian Democratic victory, a number of Brazilians of a similar political persuasion, whose political future had been terminated in their own country, made their way to Chile. One such person was Paulo de Tarso Santos, the Brazilian Minister of Education under Goulart, who found employment both in an organ of the Chilean agrarian development project[43] and the national Ministry of Education. Later, in 1966, de Tarso transferred to the Agrarian Reform Research and Training Institute,[44] where his Brazilian colleague and friend Paulo Freire joined up with him after residing in Bolivia for a while. In that institute, Paulo de Tarso became the supervisor of the Department of Rural Planning and Teaching Methods, with Freire working under him as an advisor and authority on literacy training.

---

[43] Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario (INDAP).

[44] Instituto de Capcitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria (ICIRA), a joint program of the Chilean Government and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.

Both of these men reportedly had been solicited by a good number of isolated groups after they left Brazil, but--by no accident--they eventually went to Chile because the Christian Democratic regime there, along with its formal and active support for comprehensive social reform, appealed to them. They viewed their opportunities in Chile as advantageous--if not unique--because there they hoped to elaborate and institutionalize their educational philosophies and experience in the ongoing program of agricultural reform.[45] Furthermore, the reformist environment of Chile held several advantages over that found in Brazil: the Chilean case offered a more calm and sophisticated social atmosphere in which to experiment and work, in sharp contrast to that found in the tense socio-political confusion of pre-1964 Brazil (and not to mention the oppressive political climate that followed thereafter).

The Chilean agrarian reform program, specifically--and the social reform movement, in general--in this manner became the wholesale beneficiary of Freire's work in the northeast of Brazil. This reform program, as part of the realization of national aspirations, and the avowed objective and foremost legislative expression of Christian Democratic idealism, came to incorporate and embrace

---

[45] As already mentioned, Freire had not even presented his educational proposals in book form until after he left Brazil.

Professor Freire's ideas to such an extent that their application in Chile cannot be seen in isolation. Elected to a six-year term in 1964, the Christian Democratic government of President Eduardo Frei Montalva was committed to an attack on national poverty and underdevelopment without curtailing individual freedom or upsetting constitutional government. The program Frei proposed called for a radical transformation of Chilean society, designed to

> create broad forms of popular participation in the development of our community. Not only in party politics. . . but chiefly in the real expressions of our present life: those of work, neighborhood and regional life, family necessities and basic culture, and socio-economic organization.[46]

To these endeavors Freire was capable of adding his valuable knowledge and experience.

An inquiry into the nature of Freire's Chilean work must be done in light of the mutual interaction of these ideas with those of personalities and institutions responsible for the efforts of national reform. That is to infer that not only did Freire's work substantially influence much of the training done on behalf of national reform, but also that the more specialized focus of Freire's Chilean work, concerned as it was primarily with the agrarian reform program, seems to have helped him expand upon and elucidate

---

[46] Sanders, op. cit., p. 15.

his Brazilian theories and observations. At the same time, the more limited and pragmatic scope of his Chilean experience require refinement in his expression and a much less impassioned rhetoric that that found in his previous major work on educational theory.[47] What resulted (and provides much of the basis of this paper) was the publication of a series of pamphlets treating specific topics one at a time, ranging from his educational theory, per se ("Investigation and Methodology of the Investigation of the 'Generative Theme'"), to related topics of a social nature ("The Role of the Social Worker in the Process of Change"), which collectively, although not available in bound form,[48] comprise the most revealing exposition of his educational theory and social perspective available.

According to both Freire and President Frei, a proper understanding of the Chilean agrarian reform program can be achieved only as a "global and liberating process" involving the individual in a comprehensive program of cultural action. This is meant to contrast with the "mechanical" or strictly technical and economic interpretation that agrarian reform is

---

[47] Paulo Freire, La educación como práctica de la libertad (see note, p. 19).

[48] Some of these essays, along with related observations by other authors, are to be published in book form by ICIRA in a limited edition, with the date of publication anticipated as sometime in 1970.

often given. Central to the view adopted is the importance of attitudinal and cultural factors, and the development of a critical, participatory capacity among the rural agricultural workers and their families, as well as among the general populace. The beneficiaries of agrarian reform are thereby asked to contribute to the efforts of social change rather than passively inherit a new position without connotations of responsibility and contribution to the ongoing processes of reform. It is not that "increasing the levels of production" has been discarded as an objective of importance, but rather this has been deemed relevant only inasmuch as it enables the citizenry, as individuals and collectively, to become more in a specifically humanistic way.

Thus while the Agrarian Reform Corporation (CORA), as a semi-autonomous agency of the national government,[49] is the institution legally charged with implementing the agrarian reform laws and carrying out structural change and technical improvements in the agricultural sector, the research work done by Freire, de Tarso and their associates

---

[49] Corporación de la Reforma Agraria. CORA is the organ responsible for orienting and implementing the program of agrarian reform proposed by the administration of President Frei in 1964. While CORA is legally autonomous and hence entitled to conduct negotiations and enter contracts as a separate entity, it is tied to the Government by way of the Ministry of Agriculture, which presides over the administrative head of CORA.

in the Agrarian Reform Research and Training Institute (ICIRA)[50] has been most significant, by interpreting the legislative work of the Congress and helping to determine the overall orientation of the program, especially by putting it in a broad social context. Thus the work of ICIRA has been able to influence policy formulation in the higher echelons of the reform agencies. Furthermore, the role of ICIRA in a training capacity has given it still more influence due to its work in adult education at the field level. Thus, a massive program of agricultural training and adult education has been undertaken by the Chilean Ministry of Education in cooperation with CORA, largely under the research and leadership of ICIRA.

In 1965 the Chilean Ministry of Education created a Department of Special Planning for Education of Adults[51]

---

[50] Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria (see note, p. 53). The operations plan at ICIRA assigns it three related functions: "a) to plan, realize and coordinate programs for training functionaries, professionals, technicians, administrators, farming directors and university students who will participate in the Agrarian Reform process; b) plan, realize and coordinate programs of investigation and evaluation of the Agraian Reform to aid the work of the Institutions of the Agrarian Sector and enrich the training given by ICIRA; and c) supply technical assistance to those organs of the Government that solicit it" (from an ICIRA manual).

[51] Planes Extraordinarios de Educación de Adultos. The Department does not have any legal base and therefore must work through the Ministry of Education bureaucracy and is hence lacking in any capacity to contract independently. This lack of institutional base leaves the Department open

to organize, coordinate and administer the psycho-social method in their own programs and those of other agencies. Apparently the implementation of the program was originally championed by a militant young Christian Democrat named Waldemar Cortés Carabantes[52] who, as principal of a night school in Santiago, and familiar with the difficulties of adult education, reached some of the conclusions held by Dr. Freire and then sought to have them accepted as a national program in Chile. With some effort he convinced influential Christian Democrats that the method was worthy and worthwhile, irrespective of its having been ruled "subversive" and "Communistic" in Brazil (by this time the reactionary nature of the Brazilian regime began to become apparent) and was appointed Director when the new Department was formed.

The Department has had the responsibility for developing the teaching materials (film-strips, slides, wall charts, explanatory material, and reading material for more advanced students), training the personnel that will serve in the circles of culture, and coordinating related teaching efforts by other agencies. In this way mostly public,

---

to any change of heart within the Ministry of Education; the future of the Department could be precluded by a change in the national government, for example. Previous attempts to organize the program on a ministerial level have failed.

[52] This and much of the following comes from an interview with Waldemar Cortés Carabantes, August 23, 1969.

although also a few private agencies, such as CORA, INDAP, the National Health Service (involved in sanitary training), the Service of Prisons, the Department of Popular Promotion (advancing community organization, rural unions, etc.), Protestant Church groups, and General INSA (of the General Tire Corporation) for example, have participated.[53]

These agencies sign an agreement with the Department and deposit funds to be used in paying the teaching coordinators. The personnel, in turn, is then trained by the Department in a program lasting thirty hours, designed to explain the aims and dialogue techniques. While originally volunteers were used, stipends are now the rule so that quality and conscientiousness can be assured.[54] Inasmuch as the program relies mainly upon primary school teachers and

---

[53] For a description of related work done by university students in Chile, see Hernán Larraín Fernádez: "Punitaqui: misión de servicios para universitarios" in Mensaje, No. 179, June 1969. (Mensaje is a Catholic magazine directed by Hernán Larraín himself the vice-president of the Catholic University Student Federation (FEUCH)).

[54] The stipend amounts to about $US 1.50 per course, compared with more than twice that amount required for normal teaching salaries. The program also reduces expenses by using buildings which are donated for the course work; because of its informal nature, the program can continue without great inconvenience or expense. It is estimated that 80% of the adult education program's expenses come from payment of remuneration to personnel. The program for 1969 cost the Ministry of Education about $640,000 and amounted to less than 2% of the Ministry's expenses. (Ministerio de Educación (Chile): "Informe sobre el programa de alfabetización en Chile (1967 - 1968)," Santiago: mimeographed release, 1969).

lower technicians from local communities, the program can continue at a very small fraction of the normal cost for such programs.

Waldemar Cortés claims that techniques similar to Freire's were in their rudimentary stages of development, being "applied by the Carabineros (the national police force) in the frontier," long before the actual formation of the Special Planning Department and the wholesale incorporation of Freire's Brazilian work now adapted to Chile. When the method was officially adopted in 1965, certain changes were made to make it more effective and more relevant in Chile. This was necessary because there is a higher incidence of semi-literates with some background in schooling in Chile than there was in the Northeast of Brazil, as one might expect upon comparing the 15 to 30% rate of illiteracy in Chile with the Northeast's rate of 80%. The large number of semi-literates in Chile showed themselves more anxious to progess rapidly, and if they did not find some immediate satisfaction in learning how to read, they were more apt to become frustrated or lose interest.

Due to these differences the stage of motivation (involving a consideration of man, culture and nature) was shortened to a minimum, and more emphasis was put upon the rapid development of reading and writing capacities. Following techniques developed in Brazil, a study was made of the

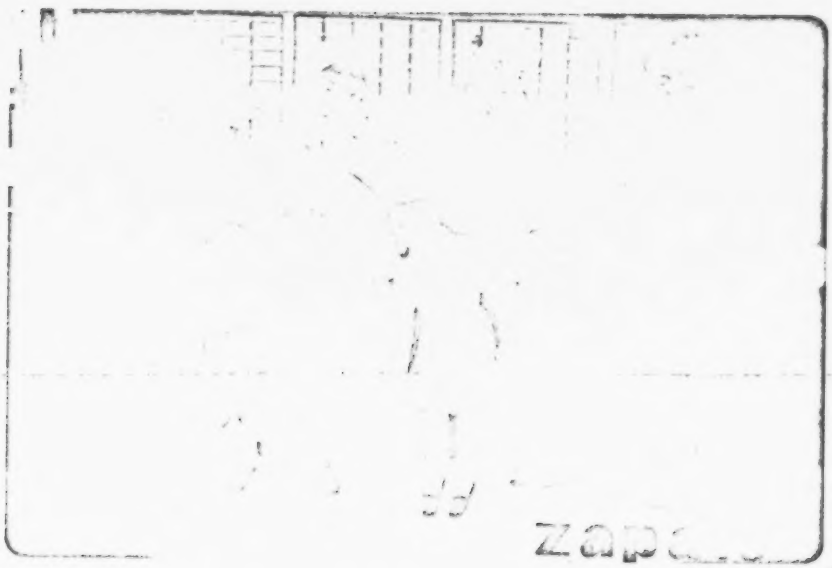
Chilean illiterates' cultural environment and social aspirations were noted. From these observations, words of high connotative value reflecting popular themes and aspirations were chosen, and the proper graphical representations created. It was then decided that, by placing the descriptive words on the charts (or slides) underneath their illustrations, the link between the word (abstract) and their representation (concrete) would in this manner be all the more obvious.

The following provides an illustration of the technique used in Chile in the "circles of culture," showing how the "generative word" zapato (shoe) has been used. This sequence is one of 17 employed in this particular series[55] for rural agricultural personnel. The study sequence is as

---

[55] For a complete listing of "generative words" in this series see Appendix C. Other series are minor variations of the series discussed or are specially adapted for learning situations requiring different words and themes. In this manner the Service of Prisons has its own series, developed expressly for inmates of correctional institutions.

follows: first the following slide is projected on the wall of the classroom,



The members of the circle of culture are asked to critically analyze the scene depicted and vocally describe what they see. Freire calls this stage "decodification of the theme," which in this case shows a shoe shop where a family is involved in the purchase of a pair of new shoes. Discussion continues until all the characteristics and details of the scene are verbally noted. In this manner the illiterate himself observes that the man on the right does not have shoes in this instance, but sandals; the different dress styles of the owner and peasant are similarly noted. Subsequently the discussion turns to a consideration of the

whole scene, which in its entirety constitutes all the details interrelated and recombined. This stage is then called "recodification of the theme." Thus the illiterate has personally (and collectively through dialogue) broken the scene down and rebuilt it, and it is this fundamental intellectual act that Freire has determined as the beginning of "concientización," the taking of a critical consciousness.

The discussion carried on in the circles of culture inevitably leads to a consideration of what the theme (in this case "shoes") means to the individual and the community: "Why are shoes important to the individual and his society?" "Do shoes influence as a factor in personal and social health?" "How are shoes to be obtained?" "Are shoes necessary for hard work?" "Why do men wear shoes while animals do not?" "Does each family have the shoes it needs or wants?" "Will there be a greater need for shoes as families expand?" "What are shoes made of and how are they produced?" The exact nature of each discussion is of course unique and arbitrary, depending entirely upon what seems of interest to the participants. Analysts of the program have noted three important considerations which recurrently are evidenced during most discussions: 1) man's dominion over nature; 2) the community as a collectivity, and in contrast to the individual's interest; 3) consideration of the present

and immediate past, while projecting into the future. All of these are considered fundamental to the intellectual development and critical mentality of the illiterate. In this manner progress is noted over the relative ingenuousness and passivity of the participant prior to taking the course.

The next stage involves consideration of the word in the corner of the slide ("zapato"), which represents the theme depicted (shoes). The relationship between a word and its meaning we are apt to take for granted, and we tend to handle real situations and abstract connotations both with considerable facility. This is not true of the illiterate, and the semi-literate is also substantially limited in this capacity. Somehow the illiterate must come to realize the proper connection between the real, and the abstract consideration of the real, if he is to come to perceive the meaning of letters and words, and their value and usage in society. The slide depicting a theme while simultaneously presenting a written word demonstrates graphically these word-object, abstract-real relationships. Through practice the illiterate comes to dominate these, becoming accustomed to interchanging symbols and their representations.

The next slide is then projected and the participants are asked to consider the abstract word in isolation:

zapato

They are asked if it has the same meaning as it did in the previous slide. The majority in this instance usually convinces the minority through dialogue that in fact it does. Next, in a manner similar to the "decodification of the theme," the participants are asked to break up the word phonetically and visually into its various parts (syllables and letters). When they finally hit upon all of these, the next slide is projected, showing the three syllables in this case that make up the word:

za pa to

The participants are asked to consider each syllable of the word individually and recall other syllables which they have heard beginning with the first phoneme of each syllable. After this is accomplished for one syllable, a slide is projected with the related syllables illustrated thusly:

za ze zi zo zu

Then the other syllables of the word are considered one at a time, their new relatives mentioned, and the appropriate slide shown. In this manner:

pa pe pi po pu

to ta ti tu te

Finally all the various syllables now developed are flashed on the wall with the last slide for this theme:

za ze zi zo zu

pa pe pi po pu

ta ta ti tu te

Again making an effort to "recodify," the participants are asked to reconstitute the word "zapato." With this act the participant has formally transformed himself from an illiterate into a literate individual: he has recreated a word. When asked to create other words from the various syllables (such as "papa," "patata," "taza," "tapa," etc.) he is going even further, for he is exercising a previously dormant capacity for original, individual creativity. This aspect of creativity and personal fulfillment has been well illustrated in Chile, where a participant spoke out a seemingly non-sensical word composed of syllables under consideration. In response to an inquiry as to what he meant, he replied that the word he had spoken was his wife's nickname, something he had probably never even considered before in

written form. In precisely this manner, Paulo Freire has succeeded where others have failed so completely: he has brought meaning and value to the techniques of reading and writing; techniques which otherwise would have been rejected as irrelevant.

The social reform doctrines which embrace the Chilean program realize their objectives through many of the agencies previously mentioned. Freire in his Chilean work has given the social aspect a great deal of consideration since he left Brazil, as reflected in much of his later writing. Of late he has concerned himself with themes of "social marginality" and "limited citizenship," conditions he sees society self-perpetuate, and consequently factors outside the normal capacity of social institutions to correct. For this reason he stresses the value of an all-embracing process of reform, very much in evidence today in Chile. Wary of the futility of reform from above, Freire emphasizes the "local dimension of a global solution." He feels that it is at the local level that we must look for the solutions and carry them out. If this is not done, he sees "administrative rationalizations" perpetuating the status quo, and it is to this phenomena that he attributes the high incidence of failure among social reform programs.

Chile's ambitious reform and development programs, in accordance with this reasoning, have a local level of

participation which has come to embrace Freire's training principles as fundamental elements. The purpose of these local groups is to organize the marginal sectors so they may participate and be represented in regional and national politics. For these reasons the Department of Popular Promotion was created to report directly to the Executive. This Department has organized courses to provide economic, cultural and educational information to community groups. Furthermore an effort has been made to give isolated groups representation on such associations as the National Confederation of Municipalities and the Provincial Confederations.

These neighborhood community organizations however are not the only instruments available for procuring popular participation in the process of national development. The Agrarian Reform Project has of course been very concerned with this aspect of the agrarian problem. Under the Agrarian Reform Law of 1967 an effort has been made to increase the number of active farm owners by expropriating the larger and least productive farms and resettling laborers from the region on the land. The settlements which are thereby created are called "asentamientos" and have their respective training programs, cooperatives, and community organizations. In addition another law was passed in 1967 facilitating the formation of new rural farm unions. Thus, while in 1964 there were only 23 farmers unions, today there are an estimated

420. The intention is that these groups will come to assert their interests nationally in what should be an economically profitable and culturally significant sector of Chilean society. The Freire method is being used, with this end in mind, often in programs which are not expressly involved in literacy training.[56]

More recently the demand for higher level reading material has increased, due to a large extent to the successes of the elementary literacy programs we have been describing. With this in mind, the Department of Special Planning for Adults has created a reading series entitled Comunidad (Community) to be used at this second level. Here the intention was to develop "hinge themes" (similar in a sense to the "generative words" used in the program originally developed by Freire), or "temas bisagra" as they are called, which provide the adult with the minimum amount of practical knowledge deemed necessary for his functioning in society and continued self-education thereafter.

Comunidad provides the reader with information on geography, natural sciences, social services, and national endeavors such as the Agrarian Reform Program. A certain amount of attention is given to those agencies which most likely are involved with administering this very same

---

[56] Paulo Freire, Aspectos del desarrollo de la comunidad en Chile, a mimeographed pamphlet published in a limited edition by ICIRA, October, 1968.

material, and a good deal of self-flattering is quite evident. Thus for example the Agrarian Reform Program is given an enthusiastic description in the final three pages of the last book in the series, calling upon the farmer to work hard for the "enrichment of the patria" and defend his rights. Respective captions under two pictures read: "Tired of working, no one would smile upon arriving at 'that' (old) house" "Nevertheless, now one can believe that he will be able to have 'this (new) house,' thanks to the Agrarian Reform Program." Generally speaking, however, the propaganda is not so blatant; for example there is no mention of the Christian Democratic Party, but rather only a picture of the President describing him as the chief executive. A more typical passage is the following:

> So that governments can achieve plans for collective welfare they need the support of the population. The community, therefore, ought to organize itself and unite its forces to that of government and thus be able to better its economic, social, and cultural conditions.
>
> The struggle to elevate the level of life in the country and permit each Chilean to enjoy better conditions of life and a larger quantity of good and essential services. . .is what is called Economic and Social Development. Chile is engaged in this great enterprise.

The necessity of more advanced "content" to supplement the initial stage of conscientización presents a problem which is basically insurmountable, as Freire and Waldemar Cortés will readily admit. Hopefully the heuristic

seminar approach initiated in the elementary programs is sufficiently implanted so that it will remain an element of any later educational endeavors and even find its place in different group meetings, including those of the asentamientos and unions. Thus Freire feels that, if the fundamental importance of dialogue can be effectively demonstrated, its use in the future can be assured and the process of conscientización will continue indefinitely.

One of the most common criticisms of Freire's program method has been that the coordinators have not been able to internalize the spirit of the theory sufficiently to keep from dominating the discussion in a somewhat paternalistic manner. My observations in Chile confirmed this apprehension as a real problem. Cortés and Freire acknowledge it as a permanent difficulty which they feel can only be dealt with by frankly eliminating those unable to adopt the necessary neutral attitude; both however agree that considerable progress has been made in this regard, principally by providing the coordinators with better training in the spirit and techniques of the program.

The Chilean program has attracted praise from throughout the world, receiving in 1967 the "Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Award" given through UNESCO. In addition there have been innumberable requests for descriptive information coming from throughout the hemisphere. In 1969 Cortés estimated

that upwards of 120,000 pupils and 2,200 coordinators would be involved in programs under his jurisdiction; the hope is that by 1975 illiteracy in Chile will be reduced to a tolerable 5%. (In 1968 the officially estimated illiteracy rate for the nation was 10.4%, down from an official census figure of 16.4% in 1960[57]). Nevertheless, the continuity of the program is menaced by its present provisional status and its tacit dependence upon Christian Democratic sympathies. A permanent institutional base is now being sought so that any future political whims will not endanger its continuance.[58]

The reaction of the press to Dr. Freire and his program in Chile has generally been one of fairness and equanimity. The press of the left (for example the Communist El Siglo) and the moderate to conservative press (for example El Mercurio, Chile's most established daily) have seen fit to give the program and its authors factual and unemotional coverage. As might be expected, the Christian Democracy press, supporting the government then in power, was highly partial on behalf of the program.

---

[57] Ministerio de Educación (Chile): "Informe sobre el programa de alfabetización en Chile (1967 - 1968)," Santiago: mimeographed release, 1969.

[58] Original efforts to establish the programs of adult education under a separate ministry for adult education with its own legal base have failed.

The exceptions to this have come as criticisms in the Mercurio condemning university violence in general and making references in passing to some of the literacy training work done by students of the universities. The only scathing criticism of the program over the last five years appeared in an editorial of an obscure extreme rightist periodical, which went out of business one year later. The main contention of the article, published in 1966 under the title "ABC Revolucionaria," was that the program Feire had begun in Brazil was branded "irresponsible" and subversive, and now the program was being instituted in Chile with allegedly similar consequences. This charge was never taken up by the rest of the press, nor does it appear to have been very popular generally. Nevertheless, the apparent composure of the press is largely due to the lack of scholarly research on the program; even at ICIRA the tendency is toward personal observation and interpretation rather than analytical description of the type found in the social sciences. Thus Chilean elite and popular opinion (outside of education) is apt to be all the more scanty and superficial than would otherwise be expected. The fact of the matter is that the Chilean program has failed to arouse the passions encountered in Brazil.

Paulo Freire meanwhile has left his job at ICIRA, bound for a job with the World Council of Churches

(Protestant), where he will be in charge of their literacy training programs, the first Catholic to be so honored.[59] In the meantime he has accepted teaching obligations at Ivan Illych's CIDOC center in Cuernavaca, Mexico[60] and Harvard University, before going on to Geneva.

---

[59] Mr. Solon Barraclough, an American citizen and administrative head for the international affiliates of ICIRA (FAO and the UN), has suggested that political motives may have had some influence in the termination of Freire's employment at ICIRA. Mr. Barraclough observes that when Paulo Freire's contract ended, it was not given any further consideration. The political aspect remains largely speculation, however, and it should be noted that Freire's long term associate and collaborator, Paulo de Tarso, remains at ICIRA in his former position.

[60] Centro Intercultural de Documentacion. Ivan Illych is a former Catholic priest, renown for his radical opinions concerning the nature and needs of the Church and society in Latin America. CIDOC offers language programs and seminars focusing on Latin America's social problems. These seminars are offered by students from all over the hemisphere who are currently in the process of developing their research. Ivan Illych's best personal exposition is now offered in his Celebration of Awareness (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1970); my feeling is that both Freire and Illych are in agreement on a large number of issues, especially regarding what Illych calls the "futility of schooling." I have suffered the constant temptation to cite his work throughout this paper.

EPILOGUE

THE ASCENDANCE OF MARXISM IN CHILE

The Chilean literacy program, as we have seen, has been a mixture of Freire's educational contributions incorporated into a larger format of Christian Democratic reform aspirations and legislation. Together they have constituted a collage of Christian, humanitarian and Marxist elements which are relatively difficult to isolate. To the extent that the program can be ideologically defined, the Chilean experience has demonstrated a facility for accomodating bits and pieces of diverse strains of social philosophies into a loose confederation of policies and ideals. This agility has been one of Chile's most remarkable characteristics and, in time, may prove to be something of a contribution to the aspirations of socio-political development. As we have seen, the success of Freire's program in Chile has to a large extent been due to the support of a broad program of rather comprehensive social reform serving to satisfy and direct many of the interests that concientización has developed. This may not be the case under other circumstances. The future of the Chilean reform program in general and the application of Freire's techniques in Chile and Latin America depend together upon foreign and domestic forces influencing their adaption and evolution.

In Chile, the future of these programs relies substantially upon the whims of President Salvador Allende Gossens and his leftist coalition of Socialists and Communists, the Frente Revolucionario de Acción Popular (FRAP), elected in September 1970 for a six-year term. While the election was closely contested by the Christian Democrats, the FRAP and the conservative National Party, Radomiro Tomic of the reigning Christian Democratic Party finished unimpressively in last place.[61] While the continued popularity of ex-president Eduardo Frei would seem to indicate electoral dissatisfaction with the personal candidacy of Radomiro Tomic rather than the party, it remains difficult to assess popular satisfaction with the achievements of the Christian Democratic reform effort. Now that their adversaries have triumphed by advocating still more radical and complete change, it is difficult to gauge the continued duration and influence of Christian Democratic interests in national reform.

Part of the problem is that the level of expectations is so very high. While most Western governments are satisfied with a modest rate of economic growth, with not too much internal disorder, and not too many external problems,

---

[61] Under Chilean electoral law, a president cannot succeed himself: President Frei was thus unable to run as a candidate in the national election for president, irrespective of his exceptional, and continued, national popularity.

Chilean governments aim much higher, though frequently failing to meet more moderate objectives. Thus political promises run to the levels of "a change of structures," of "massive, rapid and drastic agrarian reform," and "revolution in liberty" in both the Christian Democratic Party and the FRAP. As an illustration of such political eccentricity, recent Christian Democratic efforts to establish meaningful political participation through the establishment of neighborhood committees, trade unions, centros de madre, youth groups and so on shows their utopian best, but the practical consequences of such groups over a short period of time has been almost negligible.

However, if the Christian Democratic record falls short, it is due more to the unrealistic nature of these promises than to lack of performance. The Christian Democrats succeeded in regenerating the economy shortly after their election, they integrated rural areas by union organization, accelerated the processes of agrarian reform, effected a considerable redistribution of income towards the poorer sectors, initiated a massive drive to provide low-cost housing, and greatly expanded educational opportunities, as we have seen. That they succeeded in a sense is nowhere better illustrated than by the actions and statements of their FRAP coalition opponents: the FRAP can only find

Christian Democratic reform insufficient. Total reform is obviously an exceedingly difficult operation in Chile and will continue to be so in the future.

Where the FRAP coalition will lead the country during their six-year tenure is not altogether as clear as their rhetoric. If Chilean Christian Democracy was meant to be the reformist answer to the revolutionary challenge of Cuba, it has been at best only a partial reform. Salvador Allende wants to go somewhat further, but only time will tell the actual nature and extent of his intentions. Moderation in reformism is probably on the way out; the previous balance between private initiative and state planning will undoubtedly incline still farther to benefit the state (although the Christian Democrats have already nationalized most of Chile's prominent copper mining industry); certainly official sympathies for the Alliance for Progress and other U. S. programs will decline. It has been suggested that Allende will be manipulated by his Communist coalition members (Chile has one of the largest Communist Parties in Latin America, and is smaller but much better organized than Allende's own Socialists), although this is neither altogether apparent normeaningful because Chilean Socialists tend to be to the left of Chilean Communists in terms of revolutionary advocacy and rhetoric. Allende meanwhile has pledged respect and allegiance to the established electoral

system by which he was elected and has agreed not to suppress opposition parties.[62] (The Christian Democrats meanwhile have very quietly gone about buying several newspaper and radio facilities so as to be assured a broad audience for their future political ambitions). Fidel Castro, himself, has admonished Allende to keep his country in the dollar export market. To the extent that Marxist dogma comes to direct foreign policy with Western nations it will undoubtedly prove itself tactless and inflexible, while it remains to be seen what the capacities of sympathetic Communist nations will bring in terms of actual benefits.

The importance of the recent election is obscured for another reason. Confronted with a situation of apparent social degeneration and inefficiency, the Chilean electorate began to make a perceptible shift to the left as early as 1950; in a sense we are merely witnessing a culmination of this trend. The overwhelming victory of Eduardo Frei and the

---

[62] Chile has the best example of party politics in Latin America, with parties representing all major social philosophies freely contesting national elections. Generally speaking, the system is highly respected by the electorate and there is no corruption. In these and other respects the political system possesses a series of characteristics normally ascribed to highly developed nations. For a discussion of electoral processes and the party system in Chile, see Federico G. Gil, The Political System of Chile (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966), esp. Chapters 5 and 6.

Christian Democrats in the 1964 Chilean election was heralded in the United States and throughout much of the hemisphere as the most significant political reform alternative to Castroism yet developed in Latin America.[63] Avowedly revolutionary but democratic, Chilean Christian Democracy has normally been described as "slightly left of center" and distinguished by its advocacy of comprehensive radical social and economic reforms, many in fact approximating those of Allende. Christian Democratic policy differs from that of the FRAP more in tone and emphasis than in substance. By definition and action, Chilean Christian Democracy has been democratic in the Western sense, while incorporating a large amount of Marxist critique into its social philosophy, even to the extent of accepting as valid and legitimate the concept of a "limited class struggle." Quite like their Brazilian counterparts of the Goulart era, the Chilean Christian Democrats have asserted that if social inequalities could be lessened, Chile would be both more democratic and more Christian. Hence the present leftist coalition does not constitute such a radical reorientation of purpose, although it may become more autocratic. It may, as one

---

[63] It is undoubtedly true that to a large extent the 1964 Christian Democratic success formula was dependent upon anti-Communist sentiments prominent particularly among women voters. An effort was made to present the Christian Democratic reform program as the only viable alternative to Communism.

Chilean put it, become "a beautiful experiment in democracy." We might conclude that reforms initiated under the previous regime will now merely become accelerated and intensified rather than fundamentally reoriented.

Chilean society seems to foster reformist aspirations and ironically impede the fulfillment of those same aspirations. The social structure to a fundamental extent is maintained by an export economy (principally raw materials) dependent upon foreign markets and forces outside of national control. Fully independent reform efforts within this context cannot be readily achieved because interests outside of national control impede their fulfillment. To a certain degree, this is true of any nation (independence is relative), but in the case of less-developed countries such as Chile the contradiction is comparatively accute. The erratic, restless nature of Chilean politics is symptomatic of the frustrations caused by this situation. It is doubtful that Allende will be able to seriously modify the nation's stance in this respect within six years. Principal sources of export revenue are already in state hands and it is questionable whether or not greater state planning and management will have any appreciable, positive effect upon the relative position of the national economy.

In Chile a similar sequence of events appears in the evolution of every political experiment since 1938: at

first there is great enthusiasm; then there is an attempt to fulfill electoral promises; next there has been greater or lesser failure to realize those promises; then the electoral coalition begins to break up; and finally the coalition is rejected at the next election, if in fact the incumbent party has been able to contest it. Since 1938 there have been Popular Fronts, military "populists," the return of the Alessandri family dynasty, and the triumph of Christian Democracy. In September of 1970, following a schism in the Christian Democratic Party and the subsequent creation of the MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria) leftist faction, the Christian Democratic candidate for president was defeated, and it appears that the frustrated cyclical nature of Chilean politics has merely proceeded another step. It is not apparent that the FRAP will be able to democratically break this chain of events, although it may choose to circumvent the test altogether by merely postponing elections in 1976.

Freire's program, as we have seen, has at times been branded "Communist," "subversive" and "irresponsible." In light of recent political events in Chile, there are some who would undoubtedly argue their correlation with Freire's program and the Christian Democratic reform effort generally. It would be truly irresponsible to suggest that the processes of concientización and related popular reform programs

intentionally anticipated or tacitly advocated a Marxist ascendance in Chile. In the first place, as we have shown, Freire's method does not indoctrinate, but rather is uniquely free of such tendencies. Secondly, Freire's political beliefs, which we might assume to approximate those of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile (as has been shown), would not logically have aspired to their public refutation by contributing to Marxist intentions. What has come about is merely symptomatic of widespread dissatisfaction with half-fulfilled promises dating back several decades.

Freire's program of literacy training and concientización has born no past relation to the Cuban "Year of Education" literacy campaign of 1961 - 1962, anymore than it has had an affinity for more traditional types of education. Nevertheless, the recent program to eradicate illiteracy in Cuba is instructive by way of its contrast with the program functioning in Chile, and provides an indication of the possible perversion of intention it may come to take on in Chile under Allende. The contrast between the examples of Freire's method and that of Cuba in respect to their social effect are apparent. Aspects of dogma, comprehensive control from above, the creation of a specifically new political culture, and almost exclusive interest in political objectives in Cuba, contrasts fundamentally with Freire's

intentions of free dialogue, humanitarian aspiration, and local and sectoral organization for regional autonomy and influence affecting the national balance of power.

The literacy campaign initiated under Castro encompassed an effort to furnish or refurnish the minds of the young and the isolated with historical, ideological and political images thought to be appropriate to the new order. The political dimensions are explicit: Cuba is the classical case of a revolutionary regime taking positive and massive action for the expressed purpose of creating the type of citizenry which the leadership feels is necessary for the functioning of the system. Early in the revolution, Castro stated that "the most important education is political education of the people" and that "revolution and education are the same thing."[64] Furthermore the Cuban program involved everyone; the Cuban not linked to national institutions, not participating in revolutionary activity, and thus not learning about the new Cuba, remains an anathema to the regime.[65] In a sense the Cuban regime has

---

[64] Fidel Castro, quoted in Educación y Revolución ("Universidad Popular," 6th series)(Havana: Imprenta Nacional de Cuba, April 1961), p. 2. From Fagen, op. cit., following note.

[65] Much of the above has been taken from Richard R. Fagen, Cuba: The Political Content of Adult Education (Stanford, Calif.: The Hoover Institution, 1964), which in addition to an interesting introduction by the author (summarized above), provides extensive examples from the materials used in the Cuban program, presented in translation.

offered one change, the Revolution, whereas Freire tacitly proposes continuous, ideologically unspecified change; revolution presented philosophically as a way of life.

One of the organizations which has facilitated the spread of Freire's conception of social concientización has been the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America. The influence of Catholic principles can be found related to almost any social program in Latin America by nature of its near monopolistic position in regard to religion; its political and economic influence is also quite significant. Many of the concepts developed by Dr. Freire and his educational theories have been taken up by the "progressive" elements within the Church hierarchy. Progressive bishops such as Msgr. Helder Camara of Brazil, the late Msgr. Manuel Larraín of Chile and such men as Rev. Francisco Oliva of Paraguay and Ivan Illych of Mexico, have all come to speak a similar language of social awareness incorporating terminology which Freire has developed. "Dialogue masses" have taken place in which parishioners ask social and political questions of the priest or make comments of their own in an effort to effect concientización. The "new left" of the Latin America Church is shocking to the conservative and traditionalist outlook of many governments and their counterparts in the hierarchy of the Church.

The "new" priests are usually anticapitalist in sentiment, and many of their objectives are similar to those of the Marxists. They call for sweeping land reform, nationalization of many businesses and industries, and resistance to "economic imperialism." Most take a stance which is critical of American policies toward Latin America, which they are inclined to view as exploitive. The Chilean Christian Democratic Party has been a beneficiary of this renewed search for social relevance within the Church. The Chilean Catholic Church has actively sought to disassociate itself from the traditionalist right, and since 1962 the Chilean episcopate has gone so far as to support basic reform in such traditional sectors as agriculture and education, in addition to urging prompt attention to unemployment, malnutrition and urban housing conditions. In keeping with this, the bishops of the Chilean provinces of Talca and Santiago donated lands owned by the Church for an experiment in agrarian reform that was to shape subsequent agrarian reform legislation under the recent Christian Democratic Government. Still more recently the Church of Chile has ordered the liquidation of all its remaining land, properties and securities (an estimated value thought to run into several million dollars) and decided to base its future financing on the voluntary contributions of its members. The funds received from the sale of Church holdings are to

be used in the construction of social service institutions such as hospitals, with the intention that in the future the Church will confine its worldly influence to that of a moral force of humanitarian intent. In this way the Chilean Church has projected a constructive image that has received increased support from Chile's otherwise indifferent Catholic population. We might expect this new Church image to be particularly pervasive in the future, especially given the leftist orientation of the nation's politics.

Throughout the rest of Latin America it is likely that the Catholic Church will be the greatest carrier and propagator of concientización as a way to bring relevance to the lives of the otherwise marginally poor and outcast. Representative of this new effort is the example of Rev. Francisco P. Oliva, formerly a Spanish Jesuit and now nationalized a citizen of Paraguay. Father Oliva is one of four Jesuits that the 18 year dictatorship government of President Alfredo Stroessner has been consistently repressing with the hope of their eventual extradition by Papal authorities. These priests have been presenting plays and musical works with pointed social meaning, and conducting "dialogue masses" in the capital city of Asunción, designed to bring a critical consciousness to the population. In doing so they have suffered censorship, inconvenience and boycott by the government on a regular basis.

For a little over a year this Church group published a magazine in Asuncion entitled Acción. A representative quote is as follows:

To the extent that (the peasants) reach greater consciousness, fighting for change becomes an issue of life or death, since it is the only hope and the only road if they do not want to see themselves and their families condemned to live in misery forever. For that reason, the peasant with consciousness thinks, and he thinks with bitterness and anxiety; he does not consider theoretical problems, nor does he entertain irrelevant questions. He acts, and in acting progresses because he has discovered. This in turn makes him go yet another step farther. His steps are realistic and radical, although also very comprehensive, challenging the environment and the processes of concientización in other peasants.[66]

A year after this issue was published, the magazine was forced to abandon publication. Father Oliva, meanwhile, had had his telephone disconnected without explanation for a period in excess of three months in 1969.[67] Finally, the government suspended the distribution of welfare to the poor through the traditional Church channels, and decided to

---

[66] Luis Farre, "El campesinado ante el cambio," Acción (Asunción, Paraguay: Casa América), Vol. 1, No. 3, August 1969, p. 15.

[67] From an interview with Rev. Francisco P. Oliva in Asunción, Paraguay, September 2, 1969. Father Oliva demonstrated his complete dissafection for the ruling Stroessner regime and exhibited considerable bitterness and frustration with the official sanction being imposed against him at that time. He offered me the following definitions of terms developed at the Latin America bishops' conference in Medellín, Colombia (August and September, 1968):

"Concientizar:" To awake a realistic consciousness, aware of the problems of the community and the social structures.

distribute it through its own organization. From this it is altogether apparent that "concientización" remains a controversial word in parts of Latin America, although it has demonstrated itself a tenacious aspiration of the more recent (and more liberal) social doctrine of the Church.[68]

It is not difficult to point out how Paulo Freire has contributed to our understanding of educational theory and demonstrated how his new ideas can be functionally applied. A number of interrelated social, humanitarian and economic

---

"Estructura:" An autonomous entity with internal dependency.

"Liberar:" To convert a person into an individual capable of his own self-development.

"Mentalizar:" To realize that the effort to liberate man from unjust structures has to have absolute priority.

Father Oliva stated that the overriding objective is to make man capable of overcoming all servitude.

[68] The Church as a social force in Latin America frequently enjoys certain advantages over other groups involved in social welfare programs. Very often they are in more intimate and continuous contact with really isolated groups than even some national governments are. This is even more the case when we consider foreign groups from other nations. The U. S. Peace Corp program provides an example in point. Language problems (even to the native), political allegiances and responsibilities, and an inability to grasp the value system of the isolated groups make foreign personnel all but incapable of effecting concientización. (The Peace Corps mission in Chile rejected the Freire method for use in its literacy programs for just these reasons). In these cases local church groups may enjoy unique advantages, both today and in the immediate future.

factors make his proposals infinitely attractive. First and foremost, we should not forget the fact that Freire's innovations have probably been more effective in eradicating illiteracy than any other method currently in use, and the importance of this single fact cannot be emphasized enough, given the extensiveness and complexity of the problems surrounding illiteracy in the world today. The aspect of dialogue develops a critical, rational and creative element in the student, whose mind might otherwise remain sullen and ingenuous ("education as a practice in freedom," as Freire describes it). By discussing relevant themes, concientización is capable of making the passive take interest and participate independently. These qualities and stimuli allow the student to anticipate, and participate in, the ongoing processes of change.

The program offers the prospect of integrating otherwise marginal groups into society by reaching those that have never had the opportunities of traditional education or offering a "second chance" to those that failed initially. Based upon the argument and rationale of dialogue, it tends to be meritocratic rather than ascriptive by benefiting those that are inquiring, perceptive and anxious to better themselves; the importance of family background, while probably not eliminated, is minimized. Free from ideologies or paternalist condescension, the psycho-social

method provides a unique opportunity for individual freedom and self-fulfillment. In this manner, and unlike traditional education in Latin America, Freire's techniques do not contribute to already archaic social structures, but rather anticipate unspecified new ones. By using the anthropological definition of culture, the Freire method underscores the importance and value of the common man and popular culture.[69] Finally, the economic importance of the method is significant, requiring a minimum of funds, administrative bureaucracy and technological sophisitication,[70] while providing the citizenry with the basic requirements for economic development. The merit of these advantages alone provides considerable argument for their adoption in other programs and different nations, particularly in the Third World, where populations are most anxious for these benefits.

The application of the Freire method will be limited, however. Significantly, the technique does not teach "life adjustment," or "accomodation" as Freire calls it, whereby

---

[69] These are precisely the qualities Freire considers most necessary for the development of viable democracy.

[70] It should be noted, for example, that the Freire technique of concientización through dialogue does not require the expense and sophistication of instructional TV, a facility frequently advocated to combat massive illiteracy in remote areas. In fact, Freire is quite critical of television, which he considers exemplary of vertical, one-way communication, and hence contrary to the dialogue he advocates. Specially designed wall posters are all that is required, although it may prove more convenient to use slides, as in Chile.

schools help young people to adjust to adult life by giving explicit and implicit instructions in the norms and roles of the society that they are one day expected to join. All parents naturally hope that their children will come to respect and benefit from all that the parents perceive to enjoy. The heuristic dialogue of the "circles of culture" does not lend itself to the type of social indoctrination that parents in most countries regard as important and "natural" in the schools they have developed to socialize their young. Training in traditional children's schools accustoms the pupils to hierarchical authority; the students are expected to look up to their masters (the symbolically significant name for teachers) while remaining presently docile, a word originally intended to mean "teachable." These schools thereby recognize and emphasize inequalities that are important because they define differing social and political roles that tend to endure throughout a lifetime: some are encouraged to lead, while others are made to expect to follow. In the case of exclusive schools, the tradition of the uniform serves to remind that each wearer is a member of a very special community apart from (and very likely above) other contemporaries. In this way traditional schools educate young people in ways which will prevent them from becoming social misfits, rebellious individuals dissaffected with the current organization and functioning of society.

The Freire technique entertains objectives which are quite the opposite. The psycho-social method makes one critically aware, and in so doing, points out the irrationalities and inconsistencies in the present social situation. Concientización does not promote satisfaction, but rather demonstrates the contradictions and shortcomings that only argument between interested parties can reveal, and inevitably aspires to something better. The processes of concientización discard myths and sympathies for empirical analysis and resolute, personal action that effect change in a possibly revolutionary, possibly radical, but always genuine mannner.

Because change is implicit in the program developed by Freire, it is doubtful that his techniques will find widespread application among the very young in any country. There the overwhelming desire will continue to be that children remain happy, respectful and become well-adjusted socially. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that many of his ideas will see application in secondary schools and universities, as indeed we are witnessing the present proliferation of the seminar in the United States as a popular and important teaching situation applied even in business, and in certain aspects similar to Freire's "circles of culture."

Undoubtedly the techniques effecting concientización could have important application throughout the world among groups that are marginal to dominant cultures and have remained unable or unwilling to develop further their own cultures. It can be argued convincingly that forces of concientización have been at work within the Negro-American population of the United States at this time. Negroes are becoming increasingly aware of meaningless disparities in American society affecting their well-being and development. No longer satisfied with passively existing on the half-hearted concessions and paternalist condescensions of the dominant ethnic culture, these people are formulating their own plans and initiating the development of their own culture. This is the kind of self-assertion that members of the dominant culture regard as normal and healthy among themselves, and inasmuch as it can be respected among renascent groups, it represents one of the greatest hopes for self-help available to oppressed persons everywhere.

APPENDIX A

THE BRAZILIAN DIDACTICAL MATERIALS

The didactical material used in Brazil was introduced in an initial stage of motivation, in which the illiterate participants in the "circles of culture" were asked to consider certain aspects of culture. These were designed to show that there is no such thing as the absolute lack of culture among men. Culture, like knowledge and learning, is relative and shared by all men. The three following examples serve to illustrate both the concepts of culture and the stage of motivation.[71]

The following slide is projected showing an Indian shooting birds with bow and arrows:

[71] These examples are found in Paulo Freire, La educación como práctica de la libertad, (Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969) pp. 112 - 114.

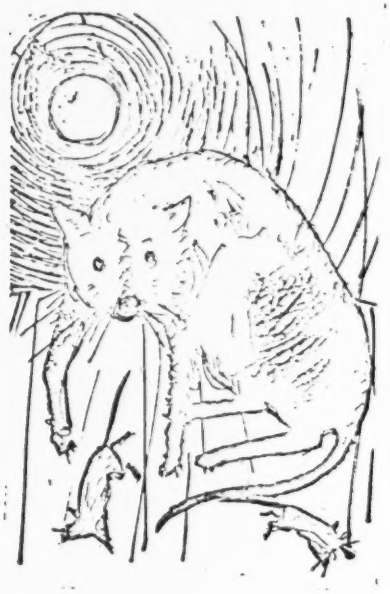
The participants are asked to list the elements in the picture that represent culture and nature, respectively. Culture is represented in the bow, the arrow and the feather worn by the Indian in his hair. When the participants are asked if feathers are not part of nature rather than culture, they invariably respond that "feathers are part of nature as long as they belong to the bird. Later when man kills the bird, takes his feathers and transforms them with his work, they cease being natural. They become part of man's culture."

In the subsequent slide, the theme is the same; only the man has changed:

While the Indian represents an illiterate culture, the hunter pictured here represents literate culture. The only difference is represented by the greater technological

sophistication of the latter. Not only does this series show that culture is relative, but that man has the capacity to grow by using his creative spirit and work to transform the world for his benefit. The implications of education in man's development are also discussed.

The following slide shows a cat which has killed two mice:



One intention of the above series, is to show the historical development of the first two hunters and contrast them with the third. The cat, as a hunter, lacks culture and historical development, the ability to learn from those that have come before him. From discussion come all kinds of observations about man in relation to animals. Creative power, freedom, intelligence, instinct, education and teaching are

thereby introduced and debated. The illiterate has taken interest in his position and considered the value of his education. This provides the motivation that will carry him onto the literacy training, per se.

The following presents a list of the seventeen "generative words" taken from the vocabular environment investigated by Freire and his associates in urban settings in the state of Rio de Janeiro and the district of Guanabara and used in this stage of literacy training (see p. 34). The words are presented in order without their respective pictoral representations (which in the classroom were viewed in association) but with some of the topics typical of the discussion which might have taken place within the Brazilian "circles of culture." This material is transposed from the Appendix of Freire's Educación como práctica de la libertad.[72]

FAVELA (slum)	A discussion of the fundamental human needs: a) dwelling, b) nutrition, c) clothing, d) health and e) education. The pictoral description of the situation is discussed and its various components debated, heightening an abstract perception of the real and familiar.[73]

---

[72] Ibid., pp. 120 ff.

[73] Following the pictoral representation of the topic, another slide was projected showing only the generative word. Subsequent slides broke the word down into syllables and families of syllables. The technique is similar in this respect to that employed in Chile. For a discussion, see

CHUVA (rain)	The influence of the environment and weather upon human life is discussed: climate as a factor in the subsistence economy (of the area). Climatic variation and regional imablance in Brazil.
ARADO (plow)	A discussion of the value of human work. Man and technology; the process of transforming nature to serve mankind. Work and capital. Agrarian reform.
TERRENO (plot of land)	Economic power is discussed. Plantation economy. Irrigation. Natural resources and wealth. Preservation and defense of national patrimony.
COMIDA (food)	A discussion of malnutrition is entertained. Local hunger and the importance of hunger on the national scale. Infant mortality and related diseases.
BATUQUE (an Afro-Brazilian dance of considerable popularity)	Popular culture is discussed. Folklore. Learned culture. Cultural alienation.
POÇO (well)	A discussion of health and endemic diseases. Sanitary education. Conditions for the provisioning of water.
BICICLETA (bicycle)	The problem of transportation is discussed. Collective transportation.
TRABALHO (work)	A discussion of the transformation of the real world. The valorization of man by his work. Manual labor, technical and intellectual labor. Craftsmanship. The dichotomy between manual and intellectual work.

---

pp. 63 - 68 of this manuscript. To save space, this breakdown is not provided here, although this would normally have been the case for each generative word presented.

SALÁRIO (salary)	The economic plane is discussed. Salaried problems concerning corporations. Social classes and social mobility. The union movement. Strike and boycott.
PROFISSÃO (profession)	The social plane is discussed. Social problems concerning corporations. Social classes and social mobility. The union movement. Strike and boycott.
GÔVERNO (government)	The political plane is discussed. Political power: executive, legislative and judicial. The role of the people in the balance of political power. Popular participation.
MANGUE (swamp into which the population has expanded; also the zone of prostitution in Rio)	A discussion of the settlement in the Mangue. Paternalism. Imposed assistance ("asistencialismo"). The ascendance of these settlements from a position of "object" to one of "subject" (in the grammatical context).
ENGENHO (mill)	The economic development of Brazil is discussed. The dependence of the economy upon one agricultural crop. Plantation production. Agrarian Reform.
ENXADA (hoe)	A discussion of technological improvement and reform of banking and agricultural structures.
TIJOLO (brick)	Urban reform is discussed in its fundamental aspects. Planning. Relating various kinds of reform.
RIQUEZA (prosperity, wealth)	A discussion of Brazil in relation to other nations. Meeting the challenges of opposing wealth and poverty. Rich nations

and poor nations. Developed and underdeveloped countries. National emancipation. Effective help among nations and world peace.

APPENDIX B

SOME MIS-APPLICATIONS OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL METHOD

The following three examples illustrate an improper usage of some of the "mechanics" of the Freire method, stemming both from an inadequate understanding of the concept of concientización and a perversion of the intended use of the psycho-social method. These examples come from a church group literacy program in Bolivia. Each day a certain amount of space in the local newspaper Acción (Oruro, Bolivia) was set aside for "generative words," their pictoral representation and related reading material. These particular examples provide illustrations of what Freire calls "cultural invasion" (see p. 40) and an inappropriate choice of ingenuous themes for discussion.[74]

The first selection ("lección 21"), features the word "yatiri," which means witch doctor or fortune-teller, and a corresponding pictoral representation familiar to the culture of the illiterate that the program intends to reach. According to the psycho-social method, this is entirely acceptable and appropriate. Unfortunately, however, the reading selection at the bottom of the page reads: "The yatiri reads the future. We should not believe in the yatiri." This latter

---

[74] These examples have been provided by Paulo de Tarso Santos of ICIRA. From an interview, Santiago de Chile, August 19, 1969.

comment is a "cultural invasion," because it expresses an opinion entirely foreign (and hence irrelevant) to the culture at hand. Secondly, for all its apparent reason outside the culture, within the culture this opinion will appear nonsensical and be instinctively rejected. In this manner the program has failed in its intention to reach the illiterate and provide him with a valuable technique (reading and writing) to be used in his growth and self-development.

In the second example ("leccion 22"), the selection on the right side of the page states: "In my neighborhood there are many holes. The holes are full of water. Neighbors fill the holes." This is an example of an ingenuous theme, pathetically lacking in the kind of meaning that might capture the interest of a semi-rural peasant or Indian and effect the proper motivation and emotional response. The illiterate acknowledges that there are chuckholes in the roads that he walks, but he remains passive and unimpressed; he has lived with the situation all his life and sees nothing significant or meaningful in it. By failing to perceive the illiterates' interests and provoke an adequate response, the program has once again failed in its purpose.

The third and final example ("leccion 24") presents another example of "cultural invasion." The statement on the left reads: "Sabina sews silk shirts. She sells (them) cheaply to her neighbors." The poor and illiterate of

Bolivia are unaccustomed to silk as either a commodity or resource. Furthermore, were it available, it is doubtful that it could be sold at a cheap price to anyone, whereas a "reasonable" price would make it unacceptable to Sabina's neighbors. Silk is not frequently considered by the Bolivian peasant, and there are significant reasons why this is so. Once again this program has failed to fulfill its purpose.

yatiri

Lección 21

yatiri yatiri

yatiri yatiri

---

ya-ti-ri

---

el yatiri

el yatiri adivina la suerte

no debemos creer en el yatiri

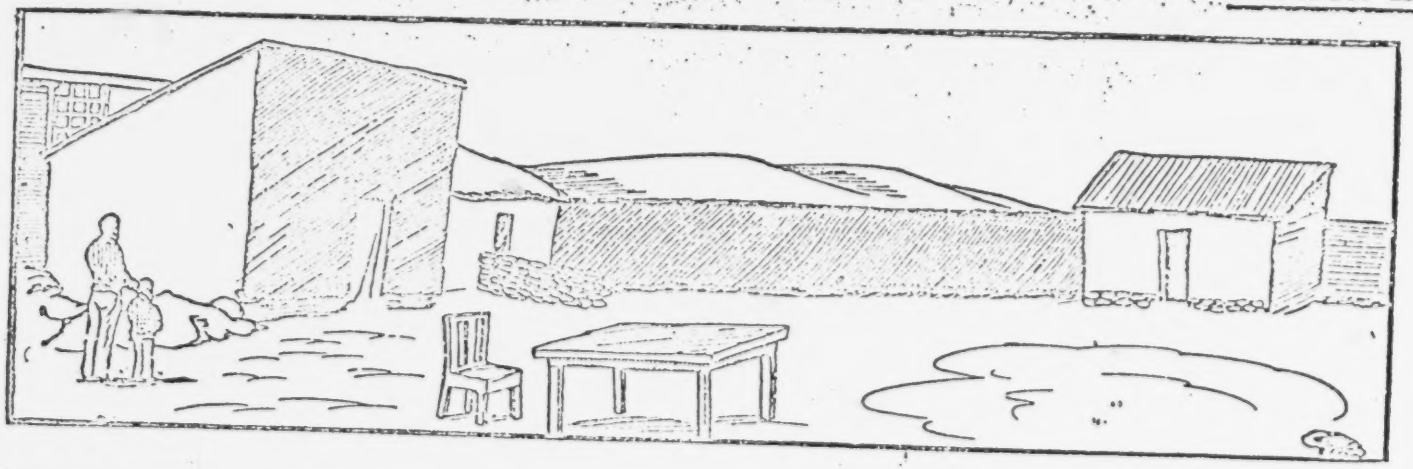
ya	
yi	
yo	
ye	
yu	

ri	
ro	
ru	
re	
ra	

yu	do
jo	te
ho	so
yo	yo
ye	ya

Yola compra yodo
el yodo es caro

en mi barrio hay muchos hoyos
los hoyos están llenos de agua
los vecinos tapan los hoyos



ca	
co	
cu	

sa	
si	
su	
so	
se	

sa	lla
me	so
si	po
so	sa
que	pa

Sabina cose camisas de seda
vende barato a sus vecinos

Salomón es carpintero
hace sillas y mesas

APPENDIX C

THE CHILEAN DIDACTICAL MATERIALS

The didactical material used in Chile is introduced by an initial stage of motivation. Eight photographic slides are shown, designed especially to introduce the anthropologically defined concept of culture. This initial stage is then followed by a seventeen-word series of "generative words" and their corresponding pictoral representation, by which the actual literacy training is accomplished.

For purposes of illustration, two examples of the eight slides used in the initial stage of motivation are provided below. [75] The following is the first picture in the series and depicts a peasant carrying an axe with which he intends to cut down a tree:

[75] The illustrations provided below and on subsequent pages are xerox copies and photographic prints of slides used

Discussing this situation, the class comes to take note of the existence of a world of nature and a world of culture. Through work, man alters the natural environment, and with his creativity, shapes his culture. The coordinator of the "circle of culture" elicits the meaning of the situation through a series of questions intended to provoke dialogue and self-discovery. For example: "What is the peasant doing?" "Who made the axe?" "What is the difference between the origin of the tree and the origin of the axe?" "Why does this man want to cut down the tree?" "How will he do it?" Thereby the illiterate comes to realize that lack of knowledge is relative and that there is no such thing as absolute ignorance among men. The mere fact of being human entails knowledge and creativity.

The next picture, which is the seventh in the motivation stage, shows a group of people in which a couple is performing the cueca, a Chilean folk dance:

---

in Chile and made available for reproduction here from the Department of Special Planning for Adult Education of the Chilean Ministry of Education.

The class discovers that man not only creates instruments for his physical well-being, but also uses his creativity for his artistic expression and entertainment as well. This popular manifestation of culture demonstrates an aesthetic sense as legitimate in terms of vitality and beauty as other art forms. The coordinator asks: "Why are these people dancing?" "Who invented the dance and other ones similar to it that you know?" "Why do men create music?" "Can a man who composes a cueca be a great composer?" The situation aims at indicating that a man who composes popular music is as much an artist as a famous composer is.

Following the initial stage of motivation, we enter the stage of literacy training itself. A class session is built around a word and a related picture; the group learns that one can symbolize a real life experience by drawing, reading or writing. The relation between the real and an abstract symbol for the real is thereby graphically demonstrated.

The following presents a list of two different series of seventeen "generative words" used in Chilean literacy programs (see above pp. 62 ff.):

casa (house)	cosecha (crop)
pala (shovel)	cocina (kitchen)
camino (road)	vacuna (vaccine)
vecino (neighbor)	arado (plow)
zapato (shoe)	escuela (school)
escuela (school)	familia (family)
ambulancia (ambulance)	ambulancia (ambulance)
sindicato (union)	compañero (companion)
compañero (companion)	gallina (chicken)
radio (radio)	riqueza (prosperity, wealth)
harina (flour)	herramientas (tools)
chiquillo (boy)	gobierno (government)
yugo (yoke)	yugo (yoke)
trabajo (work)	guitarra (guitar)
guitarra (guitar)	patrones (landlord)

fábrica (factory)	bicicleta (bicycle)
pueblo (the people)	trabajo (work)

Both lists were developed for use in rural section of Chile; the second made especially for CORA programs.[76] These words are presented with pictoral representations in the form of slides (for the first list) or wall posters (as in the case of the second list).

For purposes of illustration, we will present seven pictoral reproductions from the first list with relevant "suggestions for discussion" provided from the explanatory manual of the Ministry of Education. The first "generative word" is casa (house) and the relevant picture shows a humble Chilean home and a family whose features are typical of the lower class, instead of the prosperous middle-class environment usually found in reading primers:

[76] An interesting vocabulary has also been developed for prisoners in Chile, including such key words as salida (getting out), visita (visit), abogado (lawyer), and libertad (freedom).

The objectives of concientización require a reflection over the following considerations:[77]

--The need for comfortable housing.
--The importance of housing
--The present housing situation in Chile.
--The possibilities and ways of acquiring a house.
--The types of housing that exist today in different regions and countries, and the types of housing man has had throughout his history.
--The problems of urbanization within settlements and cities.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--What should a house have in order to be comfortable?
--Do all Chileans have adequate housing? Where and why do we have insufficient housing? Are there adequate materials with which to build more houses?
--What possibilities are there for Chileans without homes to acquire? Is the (national) System of Saving and Loan acceptable or not? Why?
--Let's compare the houses of the rural areas with those of the city. Why are they different? Of what material and how are houses of the cold regions and hot regions constructed?

The sixth "generative word" is escuela (school), with the picture showing a peasant couple sending a son off to school. The school house is of cheap construction, and instead of a bell, a railroad track is used to summon the students. There is a shield above the school house door with the national emblem on it:

---

[77] These considerations and questions, and the following, are transposed from the Ministry of Education (Chile), Manual del método psico-social para la enseñaza de adultos (Santiago, Chile: Santillana S. A. de Ediciones, 1966), pp. 12 ff.

It is suggested that the following reflections be considered:

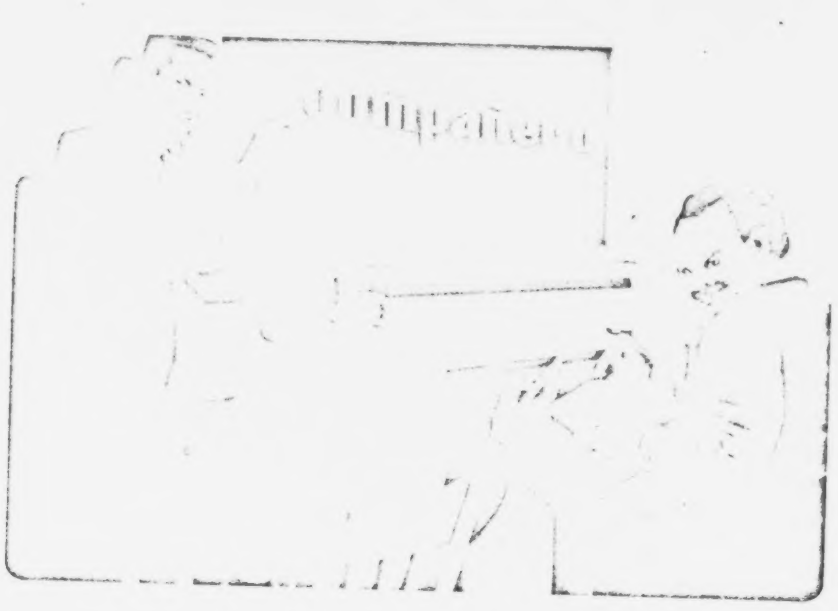
--The work of development accomplished in the schools of a locality or place.
--The conditions in which these schools function: the premises, furniture, didactical material, number of teachers and students.
--The educational possibilities that children have in a locality or place.
--The relationship existing between education and the nation's economic development.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--What would become of the children of a locality if there were no schools there? Should schools only teach knowledge or concern itself also with teaching good manners, forming good habits, etc.?
--Should schools assist only the children that are its students, or should it also assist the education of the community and help it resolve its problems? What should it do in this field?
--If a school does not have adequate premises, furniture or working materials, what can be done to obtain them?

--What future educational opportunities are abailable to the children of a locality? Where? Can these schools assist all the students, or are there students who are not allowed to matriculate? Why are there children that fail to register at school although there may be room for them? What can be done to improve the situation?
--Does the economic development of the country open new educational possibilities? Does education contribute to economic development? How?

The ninth word in the series is compañero (companion). The picture shows two peasants in a classroom with a teacher or coordinator of a "circle of culture." They are discussing the word compañero written on the blackboard:



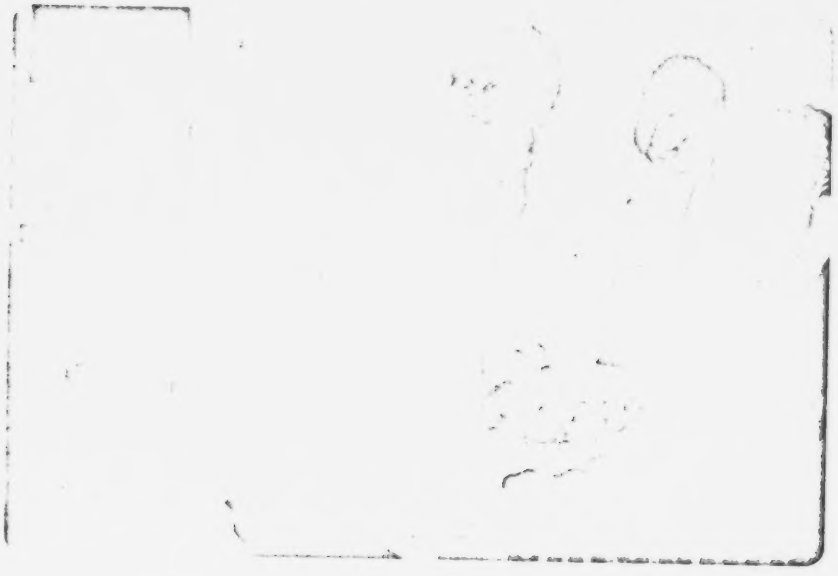
The following issues are considered:

--The necessity that humans have for companionship.
--The characteristics of a good companion in work, recreation or times of strife.
--Collaboration and human solidarity.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--Is a man capable of living alone? Would he be able to enjoy a wardrobe, housing and tools for work? Would he have a language?
--The life of a man and wife are made in companionship because they complement one another. How should a man treat a woman? As a servant, an authoritarian, or an equal? Why?
--What are the qualities that we associate with being good companions? How do we behave without companions?
--What influence does cooperation have in the solution of individual and collective problems? Do we need the solidarity of others?
--Should a man be an enemy or brother of another? Why?

The twelfth "generative word" is chiquillo (small child), with the picture showing a youth stealing from a vendor while asleep. The youth is apprehensively eyeing a policeman who seems to have missed the incident:



It is suggested that the following considerations are made:

--The responsibility parents have for the future of their children.
--The educational needs that new generations require in our society as it evolves technically and culturally.
--The different conditions of life that different generations have.
--The consideration that youth requires.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--What are the obligations that parents have for their children? What are these obligations? Up to what age should parents care for their children? Are these obligations extended only to legitimate children, or also to illegitimate ones?
--Does an order and harmony in family life influence the character development of a child? How?
--What consequences does the mechanization of industry in Chile have on the type of education now required by children? Can a youth succeed today with knowledge only of reading and writing, as was once the case?
--What do you want for your children when they get older? Are they destined to inherit the life you have or do you want something better for them? How can they attain better life?
--There are lazy and delinquent children. Why does this occur? How can we correct this situation?
--Do children today live in the same environment that we did in our childhood and youth? What is different in their lives? Are they influenced by movies, radio, television? Will youth today have security tomorrow? Can youth feel entirely free from the menace and danger of atomic war?
--Youth today is accused of being hotheaded and lacking aspirations, etc. Does the majority of youth have these defects? When we were young, didn't they say that we were lost also?

The thirteenth word in the series is yugo (yoke), and the picture shows a man hitching a pair of cattle or oxen. As in the other pictures the word "yugo" is written below:

It is suggested that the participants reflect over the following considerations in their process of concientización:

--The different ways in which we work, considering the advance of progress.
--The power of man, his dominion over animals and the forces of nature, while making them work for him.
--The importance of freedom and its limitations.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--Why do you see fewer oxen plowing the fields than pulling carts? Why is the tractor preferred now? Why is the truck preferred to the cart?
--Man is physically weak, but he has been able to dominate animals as strong as the ox, the horse, the camel and the elephant and make them work for him. How and why has this been possible?
--Not only animals have been put to do man's work; we also use water, wind and electricity. Why can men take advantage of the benefits of these natural forces? Why has it taken so long to

control the forces unleashed by the disintegration of the atom? It is because man is more intelligent today, or is it that he accumulates knowledge which makes him grow stronger?
--The word "yoke" is used to mean servitude, dominion, oppression, and it is said that oppressed people struggle th throw off their yoke. Why and for what reason do we defend freedom? Should freedom be absolute, or have limits? Can I do what I want so long as I don't infringe upon the freedom of others?
--Can one nation reduce the freedom of another nation? What to we mean by being free? Is Chile a truly and completely free country?

The fourteenth "generative word" is trabajo (work), with the picture showing several men working together, apparently lifting an object. One man is bringing something to brace it with. Another man, dressed in a suit, is directing the whole operation. A clock on the wall is visible in the background:

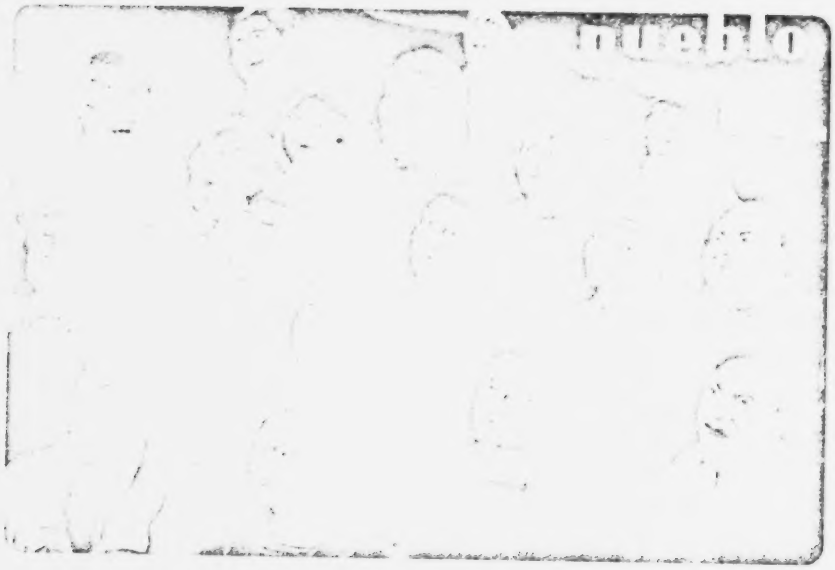
It is suggested that the following considerations be made:

--The necessity for work.
--Specialization in work.
--The right to work.
--The evolution of the nature of work.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--For what purpose do we work? Who is really more happy, the lazy person or the one who works? In what conditions is work pleasurable, and in which cases is it detestable?
--Why is there need for specialization in work?
--Do we all do the work we like best? Do we all do the work we have the most capacity for?
--Why are there people who do not work? Are they lazy or can't find work? Is there always work for everyone? Why is there talk of the right to work?
--Have we always worked in the same way? How did native Chileans work? What was the work of our fathers and grandfathers like? Why is more training needed today in order to work? Should a husband share in the work around the house that his wife does?

The seventeenth, and last, word in the series of "generative words" is <u>pueblo</u> (the people). The picture shows a group of urban and rural members of the middle and lower classes, as suggested by their dress:



The participants in the "circles of culture" are asked to reflect over the following:

--The role of the people in the progress of the nation.
--The duties and rights of the citizenry.
--The need for better living conditions for the people.

The following questions are suggested for discussion:

--Can the people influence the progress of the nation? When is a society democratic?
--Who designates the government? Why is government necessary?
--Who writes the laws? Who elects the legislators? Who should benefit from the laws?
--Are we all responsible for the progress of the country? Why?
--What needs do Chilean citizens have? How are they fulfilled?
--What are the people's rights and how are they exercised?
--Can the people live better than they do? What could they do to live better? What are the factors that keep our standard of living low? How can we improve the present state of things?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Almond, Gabriel A. and Verba, Sidney. The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1965.

Camara, Dom Helder. "La universidad y el desarrollo de América Latina." Mensaje, Vol. XVIII, No. 178; May 1969.

Castillo Velasco, Jaime. Las fuentes de la Democracia Cristiana, 2nd. ed. Santiago, Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, S. A., 1968.

Corporación de Reforma Agraria (Chile). Cuatro años de Reforma Agraria. Santiago, Chile: CORA, 1968.

D'Antonio , William V. and Pike, Fredrick B., eds. Religión, revolución y reforma, trans. from the English. Barcelona: Editorial Herder S. A., 1967.

Dulles, John W. F. Unrest in Brazil. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1970.

Farre, Luis. "El campesinado ante el cambio." Acción, Vol. II. No. 3; August 1969.

Freire, Paulo. Actividades desarrolladas en el año de 1968. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Capacitación e Investigación en Reforma Agraria, 1969.

_____. "Alfabetización de adultos y 'concientización'." Mensaje, Vol. XIV, No. 142; Sept. 1965.

_____. Aspectos del desarrollo de la comunidad en Chile. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. Educaçâo como práctica da liberdade. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1967.

_____. El asentamiento como una totalidad. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. El compromiso del profesional con la sociedad. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. El rol del trabajador social en el proceso del cambio. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. Investigación y metodología de la investigación del "tema generador" - reducción y codificación temáticas. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. La alfabetización de adultos: crítica de su visión ingenua; comprensión de su visión crítica. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. La concepción "bancaria" de la educación y la deshumanización, la concepción problematizadora de la educación y la humanización. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. La educación como práctica de la libertad. Caracas: "Nuevo Orden" Ediciones, 1967.

_____. La educación como práctica de la libertad. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

_____. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

_____. Sobre la acción cultural; ensayos escogidos. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

Gil, Federico G. The Political System of Chile. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966.

Hamuy, Eduardo. El problema educacional del pueblo de Chile. Santiago, Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1961.

ICIRA. La alfabetización funcional en Chile. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. Untitled report on the Agrarian Reform Research and Training Institute (ICIRA). Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

Illich, Ivan D. Celebration of Awareness. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1970.

Larraín F., Hernán. "Punitaqui: misión de servicios para universitarios." Mensaje, Vol. XVIII, No. 179; June 1969.

Lipset, Sermour Martin and Solari, Aldo. Elites in Latin America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Maria Fiori, Ernani. Aprender a decir su palabra: El método de alfabetización del profesor Paulo Freire, trans. by Jorge Mellado. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

Marquardt and Cortright. "Review of Contemporary Research on Literacy and Adult Education in Latin America." Latin American Research Review, Vol. III, No. 3.

Mattelart, Armand and Garretón, Manuel A. Integración nacional y marginalidad (ensayo de regionalización social de Chile), 2nd. ed. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

Ministerio de Educación Pública (Chile). Comunidad. Series "La raiz y la espiga." Santiago, Chile: Jefatura de Planes Extraordinarios de Educación de Adultos (JPEEA), Ministerio de Educación Pública (MEP); 1967.

_____. Guía didáctica para el profesor. Series "La raiz y la espiga." Santiago, Chile: JPEEA, MEP; 1966.

_____. Guía para el alfabetizador. Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1969.

_____. Informe sobre el programa de alfabetización en Chile (1967 - 1968). Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1969.

_____. Iniciación a la matemática, Vols. I IV. Series "La raiz y la espiga." Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1966.

_____. La educación de adultos en Chile. Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1969.

_____. Lectura para adultos, first and second levels, 2 vols. Series "La raiz y la espiga." Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1966.

_____. Manual del método psico-social para la enseñanza de adultos. Series "La raiz y la espiga." Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1966.

_____. Proyecciones internacionales de los planes extraordinarios de educación de adultos del supremo gobierno. Santiago, Chile: JPEES, MEP; 1969.

Oliviera Lima, Lauro de. El método Freire, trans. by Jorge Mellado. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, date of publication unknown.

Population Reference Bureau (Information Service). World Population Data Sheet - 1968. Washington, D. C., 1968.

Sanders, Thomas G. "The Paulo Freire Method." West Coast South America Series, Vol. XV, No. 1; June 1968. New York: American Universities Field Staff, Inc.

Tarso Santos, Paulo de. Aspectos del desarrollo de la comunidad en Chile. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

_____. Aspectos de la integración cultural latinoamericana. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

_____. Educación y desarrollo en América Latina. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

_____. Las actividades de capacitación de ICIRA. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

Veloso, Raul. El problema de la conciencia. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1968.

Vial, Elena. "El silabario de la revolución." Ercilla. (Edition unknown). Santiago, Chile: 1969.

Villegas M., Sergio. Texto para discusión: La experiencia detectora de los valores. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969.

Vuskovic Rojo, Sergio. Problemática D. C.: Propiedad, revolución, estado. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Austral, 1968.

Note: Most of the above mentioned ICIRA publications will shortly be available at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

ERIC Clearinghouse
MAR 7 1973
on Adult Education